Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Castro Attends Education Workers Congress

Castro Chairs Commission

FL2012190791 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1725 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro is chairing Commission No. 5 at the Seventh Congress of the National Union of Education, Science, and Sports Workers, which began today at the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Theater at the Freedom Campus in Havana. More than 500 delegates will participate in the debates in the commissions, which will analyze everything concerning education, especially education at work and for work, as well as political work.

Castro Closes Congress

FL2312151891 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has closed the Seventh Education, Science, and Sports Workers Congress. The congress also commemorated the 30th anniversary of the campaign against illiteracy.

President Fidel Castro discussed various topics of international politics. He also spoke about the theme of the congress. Fidel stated that the behavior of the delegates was the reflection of profound feelings, of a clear conscience, and of informed policies, and an expression of extraordinary confidence in the future.

[Begin Castro recording] At least no one denies our successes with education. It is universally recognized. Education is something and really, how are they going to deny it? But I also believe it is a great accomplishment of the revolution to have expended the efforts it has in education. A great strategic triumph of the Cuban Revolution. They are [word indistinct] things. Never before has any other country made a campaign against illiteracy as Cuba has. Today we commemorate the 30th anniversary of that very singular event, without precedent in the history of mankind. [applause]

Cuba will never fail the people of the world. [applause] Cuba will know how to preserve hope. Cuba will know how to take advantage of the moment where destiny has placed us. Cuba will know how to fulfill the role which history has assigned us. Cuba accepts this encounter with glory to which we have been invited. I repeat that Cuba did not seek it, not glory nor a place in history, but since life has given it to us we will know how to take our place in history and we will know how to achieve the glory which we deserve. [applause] [end recording]

The speech given by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the party, during the closing session of the Seventh Congress of Education, Science, and Sports Workers will be transmitted today, 23 December, at 2030 by both Cuban Television channels.

More on Congress Closing

PA2312134091 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Commander Fidel Castro has closed the Seventh Congress of the National Union of Education, Science, and Sports Workers. The closing ceremony also marked the 30th anniversary of the literacy campaign. Several Latin American teachers spoke at this closing event. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Sigfrido Cabral, secretary general of Dominican Republic Professors Association, identified by screen caption] We want to tell the Cuban people, we want to tell the teachers, we want to tell you, Commander, that we could not even dream in Latin America of ever having such an example of the education system that exists in Cuba. It is not possible for us to reach this goal. [passage omitted]

To conclude, I want to say that in Latin American there is no president whom women and men love as much as they love you. I want to tell you all that we are convinced that with a leader who guides you with so many ideas, with a president who mingles with his people—as is not seen in any Latin American nation—with a man of such stature, creativity, and vision, this revolution will never die. On the contrary, I am convinced that changes, even in these hard times, are possible with you at the helm, for the well being of Cuba, of Latin America, and of the world. Thank you very much. [applause]

[Castro] We are very pleased to hear what our comrades have said regarding their belief that we know how to defend our revolution, to hear their hopes that we are capable of defending our revolution, and their assurance that we will know how to do it.

Cabral [not further identified], you can be sure [words indistinct] not only we, the current leaders, but the leaders of tomorrow will also know. This is a long struggle, this struggle is longer than a lifetime. The empire is powerful, very powerful, and more arrogant than ever, more aggressive than ever. Here not only will the people be willing to face it, but there will be leaders with all the qualities and the conditions required. Because what is important is not the men themselves but their ideas. Just as in war, it is very important to have weapons. To tell the truth, if at the Sierra Maestra we had the weapons that a battalion of land militias has [laughs to himself] ...a battalion of militia troops, not a battalion of our regular troops, that war would not have lasted so long. It lasted 25 months because we started from scratch after they dispersed our expedition and we lost most of our weapons. Just as weapons are indispensable in war, in the revolution, in defense of the fatherland, of the revolution, and of socialism, ideas are more important than weapons. Ideas are more important. Everything you have seen here, and all we have heard you praise with such admiration, our congress, our people's conduct, are the result of ideas, of deep feelings,

of a political culture. All this results from a clear awareness of what our people are today, of what our people were yesterday, of what they are today, and of what they are not willing to be ever again. We have hope for the future, to continue with what we have done. If it seems a great deal to others, to us it is not. Marti did not say in vain that trenches of ideas are more valuable than trenches of rock. We have both trenches, those of ideas and of rock. [applause] [end recording]

Castro Speaks at Labor Union Leaders Meeting

FL2412121191 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, has received at the plenary session for Havana City Province labor union leaders a check for 8,839,799 pesos as a result of the collection from Havana workers for the country's defense. Pennants and certificates were given to the most outstanding Havana City Province labor unions and to the municipalities that had been most successful in their work.

In his closing speech, Fidel characterized the efforts of the people in Havana as a heroic deed; with only 35 percent of the required materials they had fulfilled 85 percent of their annual production plans. Referring to agricultural tasks, the president of the Councils of State and Ministers said this had been a year of experience and learning, in which the presence of the union, administrative and party cadres and leaders in the field has allowed them to get involved in the problems and advance.

In this regard, Castro pointed out the action of the people who had been mobilized. He said that their efforts have been admirable. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro also referred to the obvious euphoria of the imperialists and their allies in Miami about the future of Cuba. He said imperialists now have only one enemy, and that this enemy's name is Cuba. Castro stressed that they are dreaming and that they want Cuba to fall and collapse.

[Begin Castro recording] We could not even if we wanted to, because steel cannot crumble [desmerengar]. [applause] That is why they want to isolate us and make the embargo stiffer. This is why they get irritated, because we are willing to fight and resist despite what the mediocre people believe. I am not referring now to the weaklings that we may have within of our society, the unworthy children of this people. I am referring to those in the world, those whom are very easily frightened and tremble. We will not be frightened nor will we tremble. [applause] To those who are doubtful and vacillate we say: We do not doubt nor vacillate. [applause] To those who advise us to make concession we say: We will never make concessions to our imperialist enemies and we will only make the changes we consider good and appropriate to perfect our revolution and our socialism. [applause] To those who say they feel sorry for us, we say: Do not feel sorry for us, because for heroes and brave men you feel admiration and not pity. [applause] [end recording]

Fidel stated that those who have known liberty will never renounce to it. They prefer to give up their life before living without dignity. He asked what life is without dignity, and recalled the patriotic figure of Ignacio Agramonte, who said that to defend the cause of Cuba he counted on the dignity of Cubans as his weapon.

Radioisotope Production Plant Nearly Completed

PA2412043591 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1400 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] A radioisotope production plant currently under construction is more than 80 percent completed. This plant will enable Cuba to introduce nuclear techniques into several sectors of the economy.

Its contribution to sectors such as medicine, industry, and agriculture will provide increased revenues to the Cuban economy by allowing import substitutions and by increasing industrial efficiency.

Journalists Union Postpones National Congress

PA2212150091 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2035 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Havana, 20 Dec (EFE)—Several local media reported on 20 December that the Fourth Congress of the Union of Cuban Journalists (UPEC), scheduled for March 1992, has been postponed.

The decision was made "taking into consideration the difficult situation the country is going through," read the announcement in GRANMA, the organ of the Cuban Communists.

The announcement also states that the decision is in accordance with the commitment to continue working to strengthen the role of the media in the conditions of the "special period," and to "seek solutions to the consequences journalists suffer due to the reduction of the space for information."

The so-called "special period," which started one year ago, is the strategy the Cuban Government designed to alleviate the serious current economic situation.

The shortage of paper and fuel has forced the Cuban authorities to decree a number of restrictions in the past year. The measures have even affected the audio-visual and written media.

Those measures include reducing the circulation of most daily papers and cutting television programming.

The major economic problems in the country recently led the workers' unions to announce the postponement of five national congresses scheduled for next year, .

The Cuban journalists' organization also reported that the presentation of the National Journalism Awards and the "Felix Elmuza" award scheduled for next year will be postponed until 1993.

Commentary Praises Workers Contingents Concept

PA2212161391 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1407 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Commentary by Roberto Morejon]

[Text] The additional austerity measures taken in Cuba as the result of the marked shortage of fuel and other imported products are an indication of the magnitude of the prevailing problems. At the same time, however, the measures outline a series of priorities, including the food program. At any rate, the leaders of the country will make the necessary decisions to operate those areas that are defined as vital, such as biotechnology, the medical and pharmaceutical industry, tourism, and the food program.

The Cuban strategy in the agricultural and livestock fields is aimed at increasing efficiency and consolidating the socialist enterprise as a superior formula in production relationships. The concept applied bypasses other types of entities and commercial relations, and assigns a more important role to a higher form of organization called a contingent. These labor organizations are composed of highly productive workers with proven reliability and will of steel who do not hesitate to work overtime when the task at hand so requires. The vanguard groups to which we are referring implement demanding plans and often work under complex circumstances. The state provides appropriate equipment and, as much as possible, very convenient living conditions.

A recent congress of the Cuban Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers advocated giving priority status to introducing in agriculture the [words indistinct] and the principle of contingents. The call was interpreted as proof of the Cuban people's admiration for the results of the vanguard brigades or contingents. This recognition is closely linked to the initial success of the new style in leadership and labor organization, which is responsible for the high productivity of these groups and which also gives priority attention to the problems of men and women.

The contingents, with those people mobilized in the cities to perform agricultural work for periods of 15 days, have just completed a crucial stage in the Province of Havana. In 1991, they harvested 1.6 million more quintals of tubers and vegetables than they did in 1990.

'Cost' of Adopting Market Economy Viewed

FL2412000991 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 23 Dec 91

["Our Opinion" commentary by Orlando Contreras]

[Text] This year the majority of Latin American countries adopted a market economy at enormous social cost, which in the majority of cases can be seen overall as a very high unemployment rate, the loss of purchasing power of wages and salaries, an increase in educational costs, and a quasi-social breakdown. Despite this social time bomb which threatens to explode in the near future due to an increase in population and lack of opportunity for the Third World, at a time when the rich countries are redesigning their major economic centers to suit themselves, in spite of all this, there has been, in broad figures which do not reflect social living standards, some improvement in macroeconomic terms in certain Latin American countries. This, among other reasons, explains why there are two kinds of experiences, one which excludes vast sectors of the population, fluctuating between bad and worse, or between worse improving to bad; and where there are also business experiences.

But in the former socialist community, where the people used to eat everyday, where there were no beggars or people left on their own, no lack of social security, neither was there the slightest hint of a market economy, which is essentially incompatible with socialism. Upon implementing the system's change by decree, overnight, anarchy has undermined the old productive system, and dreams of becoming rich overnight have degenerated into unemployment and hunger, growing frustration, and mounting tensions.

AFP this morning offered an analysis of the year-end socioeconomic situation in East Europe, confirming that East Europeans feel thoroughly deceived by their new democratic governments, which have shown themselves to be not only incapable of achieving the hoped-for economic prosperity, but have created a cruel decrease in the standard of living, and in many cases, a loss of employment. Production in East Europe fell an average of 20 percent. This is the situation in East Europe today, according to the analysis made by AFP.

These new governments, or some of them, which waged campaigns against socialism by offering an ideal society of tolerance and liberty, isolate, ostracize, and persecute people, not for their actions, but for their ideas. In some East European countries they have organized, or are in the process of organizing, large-scale purges.

Many experts in West Europe, upon looking back at the events that have transpired, such as those which are occuring in East Europe, predict the possibility of a catastrophe. I hope this is not the case, but the realities appear to be immutable when offset by the desires of the people.

Commercial Accord With Switzerland Extended

FL2012231591 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2043 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Today, at the Ministry of Foreign Relations [Minrex] headquarters in Havana, the Cuban Government and the Swiss Confederation signed a document extending a commercial accord. Alcibiades Hidalgo, acting Minrex minister and Mr. Marcus Kaiser, Swiss Confederation ambassador to Cuba, signed the document. They said the document reflects the excellent relations which unite Cuba and Switzerland.

The commercial agreement, dated 30 January 1954, was extended for the first time for three years on 27 December 1956 and has been renewed yearly since, regulating trade between the Cuban and Swiss Governments. According to the agreement reached in December 1991 [as heard], a ceremony was held today to make it effective through 31 December 1992.

St. Vincent Delegation Advocates Economic Ties

FL2112130191 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1130 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] A high-ranking delegation from St. Vincent and the Grenadines is in our country at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Relations. The delegation is led by Alkin Allen, the parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Health and the Environment, who stated to the press his country's willingness to promote the integration process in Latin America and expand cooperation with Cuba.

After noting the development achieved by our country in science and tourism, the visitor advocated increased closeness between the two countries in the economic sphere at a time when substantial changes are occurring in the European market. Kingsley Layne, the St. Vincent ambassador to the United States and the OAS, and a member of the delegation, thanked the Cuban Government for the aid it has provided in training specialists from his Caribbean nation. The delegation, which arrived in our country last week, has toured places of economic and social interest in Havana.

Canadian Tourist Jet Arrives at Varadero

FL2112130591 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The first jumbo jet to land at the Varadero International Airport has arrived with more than 400 tourists from Montreal, Canada. The Canadian airline has now begun a weekly flight directly from Montreal (?to this) tourism center.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] That is, this is the first time that a large plane has landed at (?this airport), and this obviously marks the beginning of a higher stage in tourist arrivals, which corresponds to all the efforts and all the results of the work that has been done to build hotels and make Varadero a first-class tourism center. [end recording]

The jumbo jet has capacity for 476 passengers, and will bring [words indistinct] Canadians during the entire high, or winter, season which will last until April.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Normally, starting now, (?we would) receive more than 20 flights a week at this airport, mostly from Canada. There are also flights from Madrid and Italy. [end recording]

Haiti

Theodore's Nomination Approved by Aristide

FL2412022091 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1930 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [begin recording] [unidentified reporter] Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, mediator for the OAS, confirmed yesterday evening to the press in Port-au-Prince that deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has approved the nomination of Rene Theodore as possible Haitian prime minister. The members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies must now discuss the choice of Theodore before they can approve or disapprove his nomination. Ramirez Ocampo said that, according to Aristide, this choice allegedly reflects the wishes of the Haitian people.

[Ramirez Ocampo in French] I am authorized by President Aristide to say that he will accept the nomination of Rene Theodore as prime minister if this nomination is approved by the majority of the Haitian Parliament because he would then be regarded as the choice of the Haitian people. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Benoit Disagrees With Theodore's Nomination

FL2412022891 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1930 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Reacting to the possible nomination of Rene Theodore as prime minister, Professor Victor Benoit, leader of the National Congress of Democratic Movements, disagrees with this choice because, according to documents he has at his disposal, it is he who Father Aristide has chosen. He believes this is a dilatory tactic.

[Begin Benoit recording] According to official documents at our disposal at the National Front for Change and Democracy, President Aristide's official choice is Victor Benoit alone. If we consider the statements by President Aristide this morning on the Voice of America, his choice is still Victor Benoit.

When OAS Ambassador Ramirez Ocampo told me that yesterday, I replied that as long as President Aristide has not given us an official document signed with his own hand showing that he has chosen someone else as designated prime minister, we will consider all reports null and void. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Honorat Discusses Elections, Electoral Council

FL2412024491 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1930 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Jean-Jacques Honorat with unidentified reporters; place and date not given—italicized passages in French]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [begin recording] [unidentified reporter]*Mr. Honorat, you are the prime minister.*

We and everybody knows that. How do you explain, for instance, stopping the matter of a permanent versus provisional electoral council?

[Honorat]*Who said it has been stopped?*

[Reporter]*It was said last week that there is not really [word indistinct].*

[Honorat]*The departmental communities have already been set up. What do you expect? The departmental communities have already been formed. Proposals have already been made by the departmental communities for the formation of a permanent electoral council.*

[Reporter]*Does that mean that Haiti should therefore expect elections?*

[Honorat] Listen, how can we speak of solution to a crisis in a democratic context without thinking of the electoral step? Governing is foreseeing. [end recording]

We have learned from a source close to the provisional government that elections will be held to put an end to the crisis. The date of these elections has not yet been set. We have also learned that the Provisional Electoral Council will take office very soon.

Trinidad and Tobago

Robinson Resigns as NAR Political Leader

FL2312174291 Bridgetown CANA in English 1650 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, Dec 22, CANA—Former Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister A.N.R Robinson on Saturday night tendered his resignation as political leader of the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR).

Robinson's decision follows the defeat of the NAR government in last Monday's general elections. The party, first elected to power in 1986, won only two seats, becoming the smallest of three parties in the national Parliament.

The SUNDAY GUARDIAN said Robinson delivered his letter of resignation to NAR Chairman Herbert Atwell following a one-hour meeting with new Prime Minister Patrick Manning.

In the letter, Robinson paid tribute to colleagues for their service to the nation over the last five years, and pledged continuing support for the NAR. He expressed a desire to see the party under "more youthful leadership".

"I feel confident that the principles for which the party stands are valid, relevant and indestructible, that its record in government is unrivalled, and that the NAR is destined to play in future an even more crucial role in the life of the nation," Robinson said.

Robinson and former Settlements Minister Pam Nicholson were the only NAR successful candidates in the general election.

While the NAR was in power, there were indications Winston Dookeran, the former planning minister and one of the NAR's two deputy leaders, was being groomed to succeed Robinson. However, Dookeran's political future has become uncertain after he lost his parliamentary seat.

The SUNDAY GUARDIAN said Robinson and Manning discussed matters related to national security, the illegal drugs trade, and the future of Tobago, Robinson's power base.

With the NAR only retaining the two Tobago seats, fears were expressed by observers immediately after the election that the longstanding issue of Tobago's secession from its union with Trinidad, dormant during the NAR years, would re-emerge.

The SUNDAY GUARDIAN said Robinson gave an assurance that "as long as the security concerns of Tobago are recognized and taken into account, there will be no need for confrontation between the new PNM government and Tobago."

By "security concerns", Robinson said he was referring for Tobago "to have some measure of control over (its) own affairs..."

Belize

Parliament Ratifies Lome Convention for Loan

FL2312175191 Bridgetown CANA in English 1951 22 Dec GMT 91

[Text] Belize City, Belize, Dec 22, CANA—The Belize Parliament on Friday approved a resolution ratifying the Lome IV Convention under which the country stands to receive 22 million dollars (one Bze dollar; 49 cents U.S.) in aid from the European Community.

The House of Representatives met for less than ten minutes to vote unanimously on the resolution introduced by Economic Development Minister Said Musa. It was later rubber stamped by the Senate.

Musa said Belize was ratifying the Lome IV Convention following a visit by Prime Minister George Price to the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels earlier this month.

During the visit, Belize's trade and economic cooperation programmes with the European Community were discussed.

Musa said about a quarter of the 22 million dollar aid package was in the form of a loan of risk capital from the European Investment Bank and the rest was a grant.

Some 10.8 million dollars of the grant funds will be used in Belize to continue the reconstruction of the Hummingbird Highway which links the capital, Belmopan, with the southern district.

Another 4.1 million dollars will go to human resource development.

The risk capital will be used to finance economic infrastructure in the tourism sector and for credit to small and medium sized businesses.

Musa said in addition to the country programme, Belize was eligible for resources from the Lome IV regional programme at 220 million dollars for Caribbean members of the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group.

Under the previous three Lome conventions, Belize received 40 million dollars.

Projects which have been funded included the new Belize City Hospital, rehabilitation of the Hummingbird Highway, construction of technical high schools, a new veterinary laboratory,

El Salvador

Government Communique on Helicopter Downing

PA2412045191 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 21 Dec 91 p 28

[Text] Regarding the downing of a Honduran military helicopter by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] in the northern section of Morazan Department, the Government of the Republic of El Salvador states the following:

1. The downing of the Honduran military aircraft constitutes an example of the warmongering and irresponsible conduct of the FMLN, for at no time whatsoever did the helicopter represent a threat to the terrorists.

2. Reports following the incident indicate that the Honduran military helicopter was flying at an altitude of approximately 50 meters and at a reduced speed. These facts, besides establishing that the helicopter was not carrying out any kind of offensive maneuver, provided sufficient opportunity for any observer to clearly identify that said aircraft did not belong to the Salvadoran Air Force.

3. The downing of this helicopter proves that the FMLN continues its warmongering strategy. The FMLN talks about peace and at the same time breaks its own unilateral truce, which was only a propaganda scheme.

4. The Government of the Republic condemns this terrorist act perpetrated by the FMLN against an aircraft that was clearly flying without any hostile intent. The government also extends its condolences to the Republic of Honduras and its Armed Forces for their loss.

The Government of the Republic of El Salvador once again calls on the international community to encourage the FMLN to put down its weapons and sign the required political agreements as soon as possible; to end the armed conflict; and to bring about the establishment of a lasting peace, which is sought by all Salvadorans, in El Salvador.

FMLN Rebel Comments Reported

PA2412025091 San Salvador Radio Cadena Horizonte in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] One of the rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] who participated in shooting down the Honduran helicopter stated in Morazan Department that the gunship was mistaken for a Salvadoran Air Force helicopter. Mauricio Burgos spoke to the rebel on Jalacasal Hill in Morazan Department.

The rebel said that, in a war, he who has the initiative has the advantage. According to the rebel, the chopper appeared when rebels and soldiers were involved in a sporadic battle. The helicopter was a camouflaged gunship, had an armed crew, and was flying very low—just like those of the Salvadoran Air Force.

The rebel, who chose to remain anonymous, said that they interpreted the events as an operation to evacuate injured soldiers.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified rebel] It appeared suddenly, flying at low altitude, we thought that it was support for the troops we had been fighting, so our

reaction at that time was to attack. We identified it as a camouflaged gunship carrying military personnel and we responded immediately.

[Burgos] So you were one of those who fired the shots that hit the helicopter?

[Rebel] Yes.

[Burgos] How did it happen, how did you see it, what did you feel when you hit it, what did you feel at that time?

[Rebel] The first reaction was to fight, to hit it, because in these situations, with armed aircraft, he who does not take the initiative in wartime, loses. [end recording]

The rebel justified the decision to shoot and added that, in combat, he who shoots first, survives. There was concern among the members of the patrol fighting the troops of the Morazan and Lenca Battalions when the Honduran flag was discovered on the aircraft. With a depressed tone, the young rebel added that it would not have been the first time that Honduran troops supported the Salvadoran troops.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified rebel] [Words indistinct] I realized it was a Honduran aircraft after we removed several bodies from the wreck and when I saw the flag on the tail.

[Burgos] And what did you think when you saw the Honduran flag?

[Rebel] I felt bad because it was a mistake. The fact is that it penetrated our territory in the middle of a battle. We were ready for battle, we had clashed with troops of the Lenca Battalion less than 30 minutes earlier, when this aircraft suddenly appeared [words indistinct] and with gunmen at each side. My reaction was to attack. [end recording]

Meanwhile, rebel commander Juan Diego said that the death of the nine Honduran soldiers could have repercussions at the negotiating table; but that it was an accident and its repercussions will depend on the way the government handles it.

These statements were made 130 km from San Salvador on Jalacatal Hill between Cacaopera and Corinto, north of Morazan. Honduran delegates evacuated the nine bodies on 20 December in the presence of representatives from the UN Observer Group in Central America, UN Observers for El Salvador, and other official and nongovernment humanitarian organizations.

Commander Juan Diego also said that, in the next few hours, the FMLN will officially deliver the weapons and equipment found in the downed helicopter.

FMLN on Evacuating Bodies

PA2312173991 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Communique issued by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front on 20 December; place not given]

[Text] With regard to the helicopter downed deep inside Salvadoran territory, we report:

1. The Honduran UH-1H military helicopter was downed by rifle fire at 1045 on 19 December as it was overflying a combat area on Alacate Hill, Cacaotera, in Morazan Department. The area is located 14 km from the Honduran border.

2. When the command of the National Army for Democracy [END] was informed that it was a Honduran aircraft, it immediately got in touch with ONUSAL [UN Observers for El Salvador] to arrange for the identification and evacuation of the Honduran military personnel who died in that unfortunate incident. ONUSAL responded affirmatively.

3. On the afternoon of 19 December, ONUSAL attempted to evacuate the bodies but this was prevented by troops of the Morazan and Lenca Battalions of Military Detachment No.4. From 1700 to 1800, a UN Observer Group in a Central America helicopter made another attempt but, since it was getting dark, the evacuation operation was suspended. The operation was carried out on the morning of 19 December [date as heard].

4. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] proposed that ONUSAL carry out the operation. The Salvadoran Government proposed that it participate in the operation through a delegation of observers. We considered this proposal to be feasible and informed ONUSAL.

5. The Salvadoran Government asked to participate in the evacuation with a delegation formed by a judge, a medical examiner, and a pathologist. We rejected this proposal to prevent the Salvadoran Government from biasing the medical report and the investigation. Our counterproposal was that the evacuation be conducted by a team of medical examiners from a third party. We asked the San Salvador archdiocese to send a team of legal examiners from the Legal Aid Office. We informed ONUSAL of this. The archdiocese and ONUSAL responded affirmatively.

6. At 0745 on 19 December [date as heard], ONUSAL informed the Salvadoran Government of our position. The Salvadoran Government rejected [words indistinct] and stated that it would not permit the evacuation.

7. ONUSAL notified us of this situation and made a second attempt to get the Salvadoran Government to agree to the participation of the Legal Aid Office team in the evacuation. After this second attempt, the Salvadoran Government accepted the proposal. A high-level

ONUSAL delegation, a delegation of Salvadoran Government observers, [words indistinct] pathologist, a medical examiner, a judge, a representative of the Honduran Embassy in El Salvador, and a team of medical examiners of the archdiocese's Legal Aid Office participated in the evacuation operation.

8. The END units maintained control of the area where the helicopter was found. They were ordered to cooperate so the evacuation could be carried out without problems. The Morazan and Lenca Battalion troops remained nearby.

9. We regret the incident, which was complicated because of the Salvadoran Government's attitude. At the same time, we are concerned about the fact that a Honduran helicopter gunship with military personnel flew at a low altitude deep inside our territory when battles were being waged between our units and the Armed Forces. The Honduran helicopter was flying at such a low altitude that it was hit by our rifle fire. We request an exhaustive investigation by the Honduran Government of this lamentable incident.

[Signed] FMLN
[Dated] 20 December 1991

Cristiani Inclined To Participate in Peace Talks

PA2412041891 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 23 Dec 91 p 69

[Text] Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani stated on 21 December that if UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar believes his presence in New York is necessary and requests it, he will gladly travel.

This statement was made by President Cristiani to reporters after he participated in events commemorating the 30th anniversary of the "Eugenia V. de Duenas" School for the Blind.

Cristiani's statements are a possible answer to newspaper reports that UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated he would "encourage the Salvadoran president to travel to New York if the peace negotiations evolved in such a way to require his presence."

Special UN envoy Alvaro de Soto disclosed during a press conference that he expected President Cristiani would respond positively if such a request was made.

Information related to the peace talks that resumed on 16 December at the UN headquarters implied that Alvaro de Soto had remarked that "I expect the worst" when evaluating a possible end to the conflict before the Christmas and New Year holidays."

On the other hand, President Cristiani restated that if circumstances warranted, he would travel to the United Nations. He added, however, that he was not aware if Perez de Cuellar was going to make such a request.

FMLN, Government Begin Talks in New York

PA2412010891 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] The Salvadoran Government and the Salvadoran guerrillas will hold their first direct talks on 23 December since the current round of negotiations began on 16 December. The talks will take place in the presence of Javier Perez de Cuellar, the outgoing secretary general of the United Nations.

The decision to hold direct talks indicates that progress has been made in the efforts to reach an agreement before the end of the year. The announcement was made after Perez de Cuellar met separately with each of the Salvadoran delegations. The meetings were held at his home in Manhattan as he has not yet recovered from the illness that forced him to cancel the meetings scheduled for 21 December. A UN spokesperson said that the face-to-face meetings between the two parties in the conflict would be held on the evening of 23 December. Before the meeting, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front had said that it would ask for the meetings to move faster, as there are only nine days until the end of the year, which is the deadline that the two sides have set to reach an agreement that will ensure the end of the bloody civil war.

Cristiani Assesses Negotiations, Economy

PA2012224791 San Salvador Radio El Salvador Network in Spanish 1615 GMT 19 Dec 91

[News conference by President Alfredo Cristiani with unidentified moderator and local and international reporters at the Presidential Palace in San Salvador—live]

[Text] [Cristiani] Because I know the questions—most perhaps—will be on a specific topic, we will try and describe the situation in New York. Up to 18 December, the only meetings that had been held were between the United Nations and the government delegation and between the United Nations and the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] delegation. In other words, no plenary sessions, when all three sides meet together, have taken place.

Some ideas are being exchanged with the UN Secretary General on various topics remaining on the compressed agenda. As of 19 December, a new negotiating table will be set, so to speak, because it will be chaired by another person. It will deal with the topic of a definite cease-fire and will be chaired by (Mr. Gunding). We will thus begin to work on this topic simultaneously with the other topics. We hope that on 20 December we will start simultaneous discussions on economic and social topics. We feel that in view of the time remaining it is important to begin dealing with topics simultaneously and not to try and resolve one before going onto the next, which is

what we have been doing in most of the meetings. We hope that with this new scheme we will move ahead a little faster.

Once the talks get going, we will start direct discussions. I would just like to add that on 18 December we expressed our concern to the United Nations because the FMLN continues its land takeover strategy, which is totally unacceptable to the government. We have told the United Nations that the FMLN is endangering the process by continuing this land takeover scheme. In fact the FMLN has even used allied sectors or groups, going so far one night as to broadcast radio announcements encouraging land takeovers. The government cannot allow this because our obligation is to ensure that the law is abided. We hope the United Nations gets the FMLN to reflect on this because the government does not intend to accept these illegal land takeovers as part of any agreement. The right to property is to be respected in this country.

This is basically what has been taking place in New York during the past three days.

[Moderator] Thank you, Mr. President. DIARIO LATINO's Mr. Jorge Alvarez.

[Alvarez] Mr. President, will the cease-fire be signed on 20 December or 23 December?

[Cristiani] There is no predetermined date with this type of process. This can only take place when all the topics have been dealt with. There is no predetermined date.

[Moderator] Mr. Rafael Lasso of LA NOTICIA.

[Lasso] Regarding the economic topics that may be discussed 20 December, what would be the most relevant?

[Cristiani] There are three economic topics. The first deals with the land and refers to continuing various programs to allow the peasants or small farmers access to a plot of land as the Constitution provides. We also have the National Financial Institution for Agricultural Lands program and the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation program, which comprises Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the Agrarian Reform and the [word indistinct] land. These also encompass government-owned land suitable for farming. The second topic is the concerted agreement forum and its design, which would deal mostly with worker-employer relationships and compensation aspects of the country's structural adjustment programs. The FMLN wishes to discuss face to face certain aspects of this last topic. Those are the three aspects of the economic topic. We must point out, however, that the government's economic program is not under discussion or negotiation.

[Lasso] [Question indistinct]?

[Cristiani] A specific proposal has been presented to me. However, we understand that as far as the concerted effort agreement is concerned and the structural adjustment, basically we are talking about compensatory measures. In other words these are social programs... [pauses] at least some are social programs. As far as the social sector is concerned, large scope programs are being contemplated. For example there is the reconstruction plan that the government has designed and for which a series of seminars were held with several sectors. A multisector final seminar was held on 13 December for all to learn about the plan and to express their opinions on it. We believe that, after these seminars, the plan is now ready to enter the stage of securing funds for its implementation because, as far as the design is concerned, it is complete.

[Moderator] Miss [name indistinct] from Teleprensa.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how would you evaluate the peace process this year and do you continue to be optimistic that 1991 will be the year of peace, as it has been repeatedly referred to by the government?

[Cristiani] I believe that great progress has been made this year in the peace process, particularly regarding the New York Agreements. I believe these agreements brought out into the open certain obstacles that seemed to be blocking any agreement whatsoever, particularly those very difficult issues. This has allowed us, after the New York Agreements, to revisit them in the final phase of the process. We believe there are reasons to be optimistic that some time soon we may possibly reach an agreement. Of course, as I have always said, this requires certain perceptions, certain flexibility, and honesty in the positions put on the table. If all these ingredients exist, plus the willingness to end the armed conflict, then I continue to be optimistic that the final agreement is near. Certain reasons and situations bring us to the end of the year. However, we believe that even if the final cease fire is not signed this year, [words indistinct] would mean that the process is consolidated. Looking back, I believe the peace effort made in 1991 throughout the country warrants calling it the year of peace. This is the year in which certain crucial decisions were made that are conducive to peace. I hope peace can be reached this year. This is possible if all the elements are present. But we will just have to wait and see what happens, we cannot decide one way or the other.

[Moderator] Jose Luis Magallas, from the "El Noticiero" newscast.

[Magallas] During the past few hours the FMLN has resumed its attacks, which many politicians have labeled as the breaking of the truce they established. Likewise, Commander Villalobos said in New York that it did not matter if peace was signed this year, that [words indistinct].

[Cristiani] I understand there are contradictions within the FMLN and there are differences of opinions. In his comments, Villalobos probably reflects these divisions, which in turn are felt in the process. We are not going to label the FMLN's actions as breaking the truce. We have

always said that a truce, in this case it was unilateral, is always a very fragile strategy. We have always said that what the people want is a definite cease-fire, as this is more meaningful. Truces everywhere are very fragile, incidents occur. We hope this truce continues and, despite everything, I believe the levels of violence in general terms are less than previously.

[Moderator] Mr. Antonio Alvarado from [word indistinct] Vision.

[Alvarado] [Words indistinct] there are differences of opinion with regard to the national police and the Armed Forces. What is the current status of these issues on the negotiating table?

[Cristiani] I believe that most of the National Civilian Police issue is practically agreed on. The problem lies in the police force's transition period. This continues to be one of the largest obstacles bogging down the peace process. With regard to the Armed Forces issue, practically all of the subissues on the abridged agenda have been....[five-second break in reception]

After the downward trend that lasted virtually throughout the 1980's, the economic stabilization process has been consolidated. Since early 1991, we have seen a number of marked changes. International reserves have increased and the fiscal deficit has been diminishing steadily. Exports increased, as they usually tend to do whenever there is an opportunity. We looked closely to see what types of exports have increased. We found them to be intermediate goods and raw materials. These exports, which are not only of consumer goods, indicate a true economic growth rate of between 3 and 4 percent for this year.

In what is an important item for the population, we believe the inflation rate will be approximately 11 percent at the end of the year. This is a substantial reduction of inflation pressure on the economy. We intend to lower the inflation rate to a single digit next year. This would put us on par with the more (?advanced) countries. To sum it up, I think the difficult stage of making corrections is over and has yielded fruit. El Salvador's economy is ready to take off. A country's economic evolution is dynamic. So it is necessary to make adjustments all the time. One cannot think that what was good for last year will still be good from now on. We have to adapt ourselves to circumstances as necessary. For instance, the bank interest rate, which at the beginning was established for the benefit of depositors, became a burden on the productive sector because the rate increased up to 22 percent. The highest rate at present is 18 percent. If inflation decreases, the interest rate will also go down. These are examples of the necessary adjustments.

We are convinced that, if peace is truly established and the reconstruction plan is implemented with sufficient resources, the economy will receive a particularly strong impetus regarding employment. The agricultural sector will enjoy even more freedom to work when the conflict ends. There will be a quick reaction. The land must be tilled. This does not mean, however, that there are no problems, because we have not imported any agricultural machinery. We will have a better idea once the conflict is over. The social and economic forum proposed will try to seek, through direct communication among the labor, management, and government sectors, certain interaction patterns that make it possible to eliminate gradually a sort of confrontation that has existed among these three sectors in the past. Through communication, we have to look for those things that might make such a relationship less confrontational.

The topics to discuss will be varied. Their nature, however, will be determined by the forum members during the meeting. The government does not wish to impose any topics of discussion on the forum.

We simply want to make clear that the government economic program is not up for debate at the negotiating table. There are always many subjects to discuss. It would be fatal to back down on the government economic program at this time. We have overcome the most difficult stage and the economy has virtually been restored to normal. Now we must take advantage of this situation. That is why we say the economic program is not up for discussion at the negotiating table. Economic platforms will be up for discussion in 1994, and it will be the Salvadoran people who will decide at the ballot box the economic, political, and social programs they want. But it is not good to change the current program.

[Lasso] [Question indistinct]?

[Cristiani] Well, the cabinet is continually being assessed. Any minister who does not work according to the standards we have imposed on ourselves will be removed. For the time being, however, both the economic and social cabinets are doing a good job.

[Moderator] This is Elmer Medin of LA PRENSA GRAFICA.

[Medin] Good morning, Mr. President. As at every year end, 50,000 public employees are waiting to see what salary raises the government has in mind for them. We would like to know something about this.

[Cristiani] We have always applied the same policy. It is very difficult to speak of salary raises for the public sector because the budget is not flexible. The government works with a fixed budget. In addition, this rigidity tends to increase. It is very difficult to increase the budget, particularly when there is no additional revenue. There is something we have always done, however. We have observed closely the budget's implementation to see which government resources are freed and made available, within the government's austerity program, to make adjustments whereby money from [words indistinct] programs can be transferred to salary increases.

Several salary raises, some of them very substantial, have been made throughout this year for approximately 80

percent of the public employees of the ministries of finance and education. Workers of the labor and economy ministries are undergoing the same process, now that we are nearly at year's end. It was necessary to regulate salaries. For instance, an engine mechanic earned the same salary as a technician and vice versa. Throughout the years, many of the labor contracts were made for political reasons. This year, we thought it preferable to make an upward adjustment. We are continuing the policy. Next year, those who have not benefited from salary adjustments will continue to work under their present salaries until the budget is discussed. Then we will see whether some funds can be spared for salary raises.

[Moderator] Julio Rodriguez from Radio Cadena YSU.

[Rodriguez] You just mentioned that very little remains pending at the negotiating table. Some sectors, including political opposition sectors, mention that the government is under pressure and at this moment cannot sign any agreement or perhaps not the full document. These are some of the rumors. What do you have to say? Is the government under pressure by sectors who do not fully agree with the process or who do not fully agree with the way the negotiating process has been conducted?

[Cristiani] We have been hearing this tune ever since 4 April 1990—that pressure groups do not permit things. I think the evolution of the process shows what is true. You will recall that the same was said about the constitutional reforms. But practically all the reforms have been ratified, all the agreements regarding the Armed Forces. The government is not under pressure, on the contrary, we feel the support, as I said at the beginning, that we do have the support to continue with the process. Of course, there are left-wing sectors, especially the UDN [Nationalist Democratic Union], who say we should accept anything provided we sign for peace. We do not share their view. We believe that peace should bring general benefit and there are certain things we cannot accept—violations to the Constitution, granting the FMLN political opportunities—all that is unacceptable. We are not going to feel pressure to sign that, not because group X or group Y exist, but because we are convinced we would cause the country's future greater harm if we sign anything just so we can say that 1991 was the year of peace. This is a process that should be beneficial to most people and not leave pending problems such as a political national police. Look at Nicaragua's problem.

We certainly would be doing the wrong thing by just signing anything, even though UDN Secretary General Mario Aguinada Carranza may say we must sign whatever he fancies. We would be leaving the country with a political police that would be of no benefit to the people, only to those enforcing the law.

[Rodriguez] [Words indistinct] everything agreed on up to now is in writing, the government decided after having negotiated it, so everything accomplished so far is not outside the constitutional framework....

[Cristiani, interrupting] The difficulties lie with what is still pending—the FMLN is making (?revolutionary) demands.

[Rodriguez] [Words indistinct] to give the people hope will the government at least sign what has been agreed on up to now?

[Cristiani] It was made very clear following the New York talks that there will be no partial agreements. Only a single, overall agreement will be signed, so there will be no signing of any partial agreement. There is no reason for the president of the Republic should go to sign partial agreements when the New York Agreement specifies a single agreement, an overall agreement to end the conflict. When we arrive at that stage—if it turns out to be tomorrow, then great; if it is next year, that is great also. We will see then whether or not there will be direct presidential participation. This peace process is based on negotiating commissions serving as intermediaries. We are not going to sign partial agreements. Just as Mr. [Alvaro] De Soto [UN Secretary General's representative to talks] says, these partial agreements are then put on hold [en la congeladora] to await the signature of the overall agreement.

[Moderator] Mr. Joaquin [name indistinct] of Spain's [name indistinct] has the floor.

[Joaquin] Mr. President, can we interpret the fact that you did not go to New York during this (?semi-final) phase of the talks as a lack of true political resolve on the government's part to promote the peace process, or do you believe that [words indistinct] is not as imminent as it was in September? Also, would you tell us what you think about the civil police plan set forth by [name indistinct]. Do you think this is an adequate system for this country? Do you think it will be implemented?

[Cristiani] First of all, I do not think that anyone should conclude that because the president is not physically present, this denotes a lack of resolve because our commission is fully authorized to negotiate a final agreement if necessary. In other words, my absence does not indicate a lack of resolve. Second, I believe that contrary to interpreting this as a lack of resolve, we should anticipate that the process may enter certain phases in which it may be necessary to use our last resort. This is how it should be viewed. Therefore, I have no plans to go to New York. However, this does not mean that if certain conditions are met I might not think of attending the meeting. However, certain previous conditions must be met. This is not something that can be planned; it depends on the circumstances. In any case, my absence must not be viewed as a lack of political resolve on the part of the presidency of the republic and the government.

Regarding the document presented by Professor [name indistinct], generally speaking it seems to develops a

good plan for the National Civil Police. Nevertheless, it is a plan that must be adapted in certain areas to be in line with our constitutional law and our realities. The plan is somewhat idealistic. At times it may seem as if it (?hinders) our long-term plans, but we also view it as a realistic goal. In general terms, I think it is a good plan. I also think that the training aspects of the plan tend to be transitory rather than permanent. There will be a transition phase, and we may have to step up the training of personnel so that the National Civil Police can grow at a rapid pace. It seems to me that to meet our long-term goals, training should be a little more complete than is stated in the document. Nevertheless, I repeat that generally speaking, I find no problem with the document save the constitutional issue.

[Moderator] Here is a question by Mr. Carlos Ernesto Rugama of [words indistinct].

[Rugama] Mr. President, you have said that the FMLN's land seizures threaten the peace process. Will the operations that began on 17 December also prove to be a threat. Might they prompt the government to withdraw from the negotiations by the end of the year, as it withdrew when the FMLN stepped up its sabotage operations?

[Cristiani] We were negotiating without a unilateral truce before, so the process is not in jeopardy. It depends, however, on the circumstances. I do not like to answer hypothetical questions because I may be misinterpreted or some new situation may arise and someone may point out that you said this and that, despite the fact that circumstances are not the same. What I will say is that we cannot allow things such as land occupations to occur. These actions are directed at taking advantage.-..[pauses] and creating an internal problem to try and use the negotiating table to find a solution; especially when it is an illegal situation that then becomes a new problem that must be discussed. This is also true when the FMLN's objective is a strictly political one and has no real justification. It would be fine to deal with such political issues once they are legally integrated into the country.

We believe that the substantial reduction in the violence is a positive sign and has created better conditions for further progress in the process. We never really believed that the FMLN would fully abide by its unilateral truce and, in fact, it has not. Yet we are not proclaiming that the unilateral truce has been broken. After all, it was a unilateral decision, and so is ours.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct] of EXCELSIOR.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how have the friendly countries of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and Spain cooperated lately in giving impetus to the negotiations? Will the Army declare a truce for Christmas and the New Year?

[Cristiani] The participation of our usual friends and the UN secretary general's assessment of the process can be expected. Nevertheless, we expect that, just as it happened in September when I was in New York, the secretary general can make more direct use of the friendly countries' human resources. The process is taking place at the UN headquarters. There was direct participation in the subjects discussed in September. These countries will continue to support and contribute to the process just as they did in September. Regarding your other question, the Armed Forces are not conducting any offensive operations. We will continue like this unless there is a danger signal from the FMLN.

[Moderator] We will now have questions in English asked by Ms. Lynda [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Cristiani, in English] First of all, what we see as problems within the FMLN is that there are differences between the various factions that make up the FMLN [words indistinct]. The problems arise from these differences. You have one member announcing one thing [words indistinct] these differences between the various factions.

We heard that they cannot figure out a way to solve their own differences and really move forward in trying to reach a final agreement. [Words indistinct] this is not, I think, new [words indistinct] The obstacles within the process have always been difficult to overcome and I often realized that in September in New York. Hopefully, we will produce more solutions in this round in New York City and [words indistinct] less obstacles to overcome. We may even be able to end our negotiations in the near future.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Cristiani, in English] No, we continue to follow what has been set by prior agreements in the negotiation of issues that were agreed to in what was called the compressed agenda of the New York Agreements. We continue to look for different approaches to reaching an agreement but not different approaches to how we handle the peace process. Nevertheless, in New York city, through mutual agreement, there is a petition to further speed-up the discussions by setting up different tables with different issues to be discussed at each table so that we can move forward faster by synthesizing [words indistinct].

[Moderator] (Mr. Tom Hood) from the BBC, London.

[(Hood), in English] I would like to ask you a couple of things you have already been asked. One question has to do with the fact that opposition parties are again saying that now the government is being pressured by the right-wing and groups within the Army and that it should be possible to sign a peace agreement now. I would like your comments on that. I would also like to ask you about the land issues in the New York Agreements and about the recognition of land occupied by campesinos in conflict areas. How much more has to be negotiated to

bag that issue and how does the government intend to deal with some of the conflicts that are likely to come up in the transition period over land after an accord is signed?

[Cristiani, in English] Starting from the last [question] to the first, the government will always deal with the differences by applying the law. That is how we start to settle the differences in the [words indistinct] by applying what is legal in our country and upholding the law. With respect to the land issue, what was agreed to in New York was that during the years the conflict has been going on, some campesinos in conflict areas have been planting in unoccupied land that belongs to someone else. And the only thing that we agreed to was that we would like for different mechanisms that are legal—and the word legal is in the New York Agreements—and that within the law might provide those campesinos with (?harvesting) that land. There can be different approaches to that and if that is not possible because the owner does not want to sell that land and wants to keep it for himself, there is always land nearby that we could use. Nevertheless, and this has also been stated by the UN secretary general, it is based on whether the status quo is April 4 1990. Now we are talking about campesionos that were planting prior to 1990. We are not talking about any illegal takeover of land that the FMLN is hoping for in the last couple of months. We will not accept any transfer of land of those illegally taken lands by members of the FMLN or supporters of the FMLN. There will be programs, these are purchasing programs, that can provide, through legal mechanisms, land for campesinos and farmers. Anybody that wants to, who would like to own a plot of land, agricultural land, can use any of the [word indistinct]. But definitely, the government cannot tolerate the illegal takeover of land.

About the opposition parties and whether we have to sign the cease-fire now, we have normally said that we want to and are willing to sign the cease-fire but we are not going to sign any conditions. [Words indistinct] that we can provide a consolidation of a democratic system, strengthen the respect of human rights, and achieve national reconciliation. In this respect there are some things that are outside the realm of these objectives that were set in the [word indistinct] agreement in April 1990. And we are not willing to give the FMLN power quotas of any sort. If they want any power they can quit and establish a political party and reach power within the democratic system and rules.

So there are things that we cannot sign. We cannot accept and [word indistinct] the country with a political solution. This is something that the UDN Secretary General Mario Aguinada Carranza has been saying. If we sign, we should not worry about that. Well, look at the Sandinist Army and look at what is happening with the instability of Nicaragua because of political police and a political army. We want a professional police and we must not allow to have political groups wanting quotas within the national police but rather a police that would be outside of politics and more geared towards the security of all members of our society. So, we can't sign anything. I would simply say that we feel that the FMLN should be asked to sign. Why do they not sign? We have provided a response to every single thing that they want and an answer to everything. Why do they not sign?

I think it would be much fairer to ask the FMLN to sign the agreement that is being offered, which is within the law and within everything that they have tried to show that is needed for a peace agreement to be fair. Why do these opposition parties not ask the FMLN to sign that agreement. I would simply say that we feel that the FMLN should be asked to sign. Why do they not sign? We have provided a response to every single thing that they want and an answer to everything. Why do they not sign?

I think that it would be much fairer to ask the FMLN to sign the agreement that is an offering, which is within the law and within everything that they have tried to show that is needed for a peace agreement to be fair. Why do these opposition parties not ask the FMLN to sign that agreement.

[Moderator] (Linda Hill).

[Reporter] President Cristiani, again, I am working on a project on the ecology, so I would like to ask some very specific questions about that. In the sphere of the major crisis that is facing this country, and hence its environment, how does that conflict with the war and with resolving these questions within the context of the war.

[Cristiani, in English] First, obviously the war has affected our ecology and natural resources. Undoubtedly, by stopping the war we could stop a lot of what has been destroying especially our forests and other aspects like rivers, etcetera, that are suffering from the war directly.

Now, another basic problem that the country has is its overpopulation. That also has been, in a way, harmful for the...[pauses] especially the destruction of our forests and is probably the erosion problem that El Salvador faces, since it is one of the worst in our country. We feel that we have named a specific national committee that deals with our ecological problems that has included all risks that are in the aspects—or work within the aspects of the ecology—to try and create programs to solve the destruction and stop the deterioration of our ecological system, and create programs that in the future will start solving the problems, basically. As soon as we have started to work, we will have to consider creating national parks, for instance. There is only one, which was donated by a private citizen. Now we are starting to name public parks, where there can be no destruction of forests and no destruction of any of the wild life in them. Also, a program with respect to saving our main natural resource, which is the Lempa River. It is probably the most valuable natural resource that the country has, because it provides us with the energy; the electricity.

So there are various aspects that we are trying to work, and hopefully, with the end of the war, it will be easier to solve our problems.

[Reporter, in English] [Words indistinct] a report saying that El Salvador faces the worst ecological crisis on the continent. I am wondering, in light of that, if the military has been directed to change its strategy [words indistinct]?

[Cristiani, in English] Well, the problem is the war. I think that when the war is over—and hopefully it will be soon—there will be no need for the Army to develop anything but programs that benefit our ecological system. Like I said at the beginning, I think the war does harm any ecological system in any country; that has been compounded by other problems. It has not been the only problem, as you have said.

[Moderator] Thank you very much Mr. President, thank you journalists.

FMLN Editorial on Effects of USSR Downfall

PA2412012591 (Clandestine) Radio Farabundo Marti in Spanish to El Salvador 1200 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Station editorial]

[Text] Before the end of 1991, the USSR will be totally dismantled. The event that has changed the whole world makes us reflect on the path followed by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN], which always has been accused by the enemies of democracy of depending ideologically, politically, and materially on that great power.

While the formal document ending the USSR was being signed in Moscow, the FMLN was at UN headquarters in New York finishing the peace agreement that will lead to democracy in El Salvador.

After the resounding fall of socialism in Eastern Europe in 1989, geopolitical analysts believed that the end had also come for the FMLN. They believed that it would take only a few months for this to happen, but history has proven them wrong.

Based on those assumptions, the Salvadoran regime wanted to take the initiative in the negotiations, believing that it could corner us and accelerate our defeat.

A short time later, the regime became aware of its political shortsightedness. It went from euphoria to frustration and tried to back down from the obligations it had assumed.

Many enemies of democracy believed and asserted that by this time the Salvadoran rebels would be taking refuge in the USSR, hanging our heads in shame and lamenting our defeat.

Contrary to this, the USSR is falling apart while we are present in the capital and in vast areas of the country. We also have a powerful army that was never defeated.

We will begin 1992 as a legal political party that will compete in the 1994 elections. Many of our soldiers are preparing to join the new National Civilian Police. At the same time, we are getting ready for the future with plans for the economic development of our zones.

How wrong all those people are who based their political conduct on anti-Communism! They did so much to maintain a dictatorship, and today realize that the end of the Soviet Union represents the end of the selfish impunity with which they protected their interests.

On the other hand, the Salvadoran rebels are happy that they followed the road of national identity, complying with our nation's wishes for democracy and social justice! All the accumulated potential that we are now displaying proves that the only ones who were wrong in this country were those who embraced the specter of anti-Communism to oppose the will of the people.

Finally, everyone should know that our people—all the sectors of the country, including the FMLN—will know how to make each and every agreement that comes out of the negotiations a reality.

Official Denies FMLN Controls Territory

PA2412041991 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 23 Dec 91 p 41

[Text] Colonel Jorge Murcia, Bracamonte Battalion official, reiterated: "The guerrillas do not have a fixed position, nor control any territory."

Defense Ministry Armed Forces Press Committee spokesmen have frequently established that the Armed Forces alone control overall territory, because this is established in the Constitution.

This is how the military officer replied to the constant phrase used by nomad guerrilla groups hiding in the mountains and staging surprise attacks then fleeing from the Armed Forces.

Col. Murcia made this statement to reporters shortly after clashes were reported between soldiers and guerrillas on 21 December at 0630, during which a minor was injured. The minor, Melani Rodriguez, 12, only sustained minor wounds but required medical attention.

During this same incident, two guerrillas died and one was captured when the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] attacked Armed Forces positions in San Jose Las Flores, Tonacatepeque jurisdiction.

Once the clashes ended, the attackers fled from the site and order was immediately reestablished.

The captured soldier attempted to explain that he and his comrades were trying to maintain "their positions and zone under their control."

Col. Mauricio Duke, Bracamonte Battalion commander, admitted that in the Guazapa area there are some small groups still operating.

Duke added that the Armed Forces mobilizes throughout the national territory, so "when the community discloses where the guerrillas are and we find them, they flee in disarray."

At the Guazapa site, five soldiers were killed and two rebels were injured, one of which was a woman.

"We are limited in the use of heavy artillery due to superior orders," Duke said. "We only respond when clandestine FMLN members attack us in specific sectors," he noted.

Honduras

Explanation Demanded From Salvadoran Guerrillas

PA2312195391 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 21 Dec 91 p 4

[Text] Tegucigalpa— The Foreign Ministry has demanded an explanation from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] for the downing of a Honduran Air Force helicopter.

A Foreign Ministry communique said that contacts have been made with FMLN leaders through the UN offices in New York demanding a satisfactory explanation for that "act of aggression against a Honduran Air Force helicopter that was not equipped with weapons during a routine flight over the Torola River. The Honduran Foreign Ministry expressed its strong repudiation of that criminal act." [quotation marks as published]

Callejas Named Area Spokesman for Jan-Jun '92

PA1812170191 Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 17 Dec 91 p 6

[Text] Mario Carias Zapata, Honduran foreign minister, reported on 16 December that, from January to June 1992, Honduras will be home to the permanent secretariat of presidential summits and that President Rafael Leonardo Callejas will be the region's official spokesman.

He said that the Organization of Central American States [ODECA] has been reactivated and that, as part of this new integration instrument, Honduras will officially represent the area "in the Group of Rio, a political agreement mechanism composed of 13 Latin American countries."

The designation, which places Honduras at the head of regional initiatives, means that President Callejas will gather all positions in Central America to present them during meetings and the Group of Rio summits, Carias said.

He reported that the government will present the Tegucigalpa Protocol, which consists of amendments to the ODECA Charter, for approval at the beginning of the National Congress third legislature. "It is expected that several countries will progress rapidly in the ratification of this instrument."

The meeting of Central American and Caribbean Common Market countries will be installed in San Pedro Sula. The sessions will be held on 30 and 31 January 1992 with an ample working agenda so cooperation bonds can be established, he pointed out.

Carias was glad to confirm that the ODECA Secretariat will initially be held by a Honduran diplomat to be designated by President Callejas.

He said that "there are structures, goals, and programs to be set in operation to comply with the Tegucigalpa Commitment," which seeks to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the corresponding Central American peoples. In addition, he added: "This week, we are awaiting the return to Haiti of 100 Haitians now in a UN High Commissioner for Refugees camp in the northern area of Honduras."

Finally, he said that at the 11th "Human Development, Childhood, and Youth" presidential summit, the Central American bloc agreed to support OAS diplomatic efforts to restore the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, overthrown by a bloody military coup.

Nicaragua

Foreign Minister on EC's Commercial Opening

PA2112044691 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2300 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] During a news conference held at noon on 19 December, Foreign Minister Enrique Dreyfus Morales pointed out the importance of the special plan for economic cooperation with Central America and the opening of the European market to nontraditional exports.

He also mentioned the signing of the bilateral agreement with the Mexican Government as some of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry's achievements in 1991.

[Begin Dreyfus recording] We have made achievements we believe to be very important. Following instructions from the president to keep the Nicaraguan people well informed of the achievements we have made, we will point out some very important ones.

First we have the foreign debt negotiation, which was team work. The Presidency minister spoke about it on 18 December. The terms for Nicaragua are already being spoken of in the financial world, the world of international finance. For the first time in history a commercial debt has been partially cancelled. The Presidency minister spoke of this topic extensively. However, we believe

that it would be right to point out that all these achievements were attained through team work by the government.

The second important achievement is that, on 16 December, the EC voted in favor of a resolution known as the leveling of tariffs on nontraditional export products with the tariffs the EC granted to products from the Andean Pact countries.

I met in San Jose [words indistinct] in Managua, where [words indistinct] acted as spokesman of the Central American group. In a speech, we requested that—and gave the justification for—non-traditional products such as flowers, vegetables, and other products be granted the same benefits.

This is very important because it is the opening, for the first time, of the European market to Central America. Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, working jointly with the economy ministry, have worked since March through 18 December on a strategy to attain that achievement.

We have still not mentioned what this really represents. This is an extraordinary opportunity for all Nicaraguan productive and farming sectors. This is the opening, for the first time, of the European market to Nicaraguan products such as fruit, flowers, [word indistinct]; that is to say, non-traditional products. An example of what this could mean for Nicaragua is that, in Costa Rica, non-traditional exports are approximately $700 million each year. That means, non-traditional exports have surpassed coffee exports, the main traditional export.

This achievement also allows our coffee exports to compete with those of the Andean Pact.

The third achievement we consider important is a resolution approved on 18 December at the United Nations. It was a Central American resolution on a topic on which Nicaragua has had the diplomatic initiative. This is in regard to what you have heard me say often about the objectives of this government being peace, democracy, and self-sustained and balanced development.

The Central American presidents, during the Punta Arenas Presidential Summit, added the word peace to those four words and issued a resolution declaring Central America a zone of peace, liberty,—liberty was the word they added—democracy, and development. [end recording]

Deputy Comments on Unrest in North Atlantic Area

PA1912181891 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Leonel Panting, governor of the North Atlantic Autonomous Region; Roy Gibson, mayor of Puerto Cabezas; and the Regional Council members have been dismissed by individuals led by Brooklyn Rivera, director of the Nicaraguan Institute for the Development of the Autonomous Regions of the Atlantic Coast [INDERA].

Dr. Myrna Cunningham, Sandinist National Liberation Front deputy of the North Atlantic Autonomous Region, made the following statements to our station:

[Begin Recording] Some individuals with ties to INDERA and YATAMA [organization of Creole groups and Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians] seized autonomous region facilities on 12 December and have been threatening to dismiss the governor and the Regional Autonomous Council. They also want to establish a new regional government leadership. Such an action would be totally illegal. In addition, various groups have taken up arms in several areas near the highway to the coast and the Rio Coco highway.

This situation deteriorated on 15 December when these individuals tried to seize the police station. They issued a public communique appointing a new governor and a new mayor in Puerto Cabezas. David Rodriguez, INDERA regional delegate and alternate for deputy (Alfonso Quiel), has directed these actions, along with other individuals who belong to YATAMA.

The officials being threatened with dismissal were elected to the Autonomous Government on 25 February. These actions are, therefore, totally illegal and only serve to further destabilize the situation on the Atlantic coast. [end recording]

FSLN on Regional Violence

PA2112173091 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network 0330 GMT 20 Dec 91

[From the nonofficial "Extravision" newscast, directed by Manuel Espinoza, former information minister under the Ortega administration]

[Text] On 19 December, the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] issued a statement condemning the violent actions in the northern Atlantic Coast autonomous region. The statement indicated: The FSLN National Directorate vigorously condemns the violent actions taking place in the northern region of the country.

[Begin FSLN Secretary General Daniel Ortega recording, broadcast in progress] ...in the area of Waslala, where Comrade FSLN Political Secretary Leonel Ortiz Urbina was kidnapped by extremist recontra groups on 18 December. We must bear in mind that Comrade Leonel had been promoting a policy of reconciliation in Waslala, and that this angered the recontra groups that were encouraged by the Waslala mayor and the Government Ministry representative in Waslala. They did not stop at just making threats against the comrade; they kidnapped him. [end recording]

Daniel Ortega also condemned the uprising that extremist sectors have been promoting against authorities of the northern Atlantic Coast automous region for the past two weeks.

[Begin Ortega recording] The serious situation created in the northern Atlantic Coast autonomous region is the result of maneuvers by Brooklyn Rivera, who is using his position as head of Indera [Nicaraguan Institute for the Development of Autonomous Region of the Atlantic Coast]. It is also the result of the central government's lack of will to guarantee the full implementation of the autonomy statute. We demand the immediate reestablishment of the regional authorities and a state of law in the northern Atlantic Coast autonomous region. We demand full respect for the autonomy statute. We demand that Indera be dismantled and its resources transferred to the regional autonomous councils. [end recording]

Lacayo: Region Again 'Normal'

PA2112165491 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo has announced that the conflict in the northern Atlantic coast autonomous region has been overcome. After a lengthy dialogue and negotiation, Yatama [Organization of Creole Groups and Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians] turned over the regional government house it had seized. Here is a report by Vilma Estrada:

[Begin recording] [Estrada] Lacayo announced that the conflict was resolved satisfactorily after a broad dialogue between the central government delegation and the sectors involved in seizing the government house and the Indera [Nicaraguan Institute for the Development of the Autonomous Regions of the Atlantic Coast] installations in the northern Atlantic coast region. He said all of these installations were turned over to the authorities in an orderly manner.

[Lacayo] As a result of this solution, the situation in this important region of the country has returned to normal.

[Estrada] A communique issued by the Presidency's Information and Press Directorate indicated that dialogue and negotiations help to resolve conflicts and that this is how stability, which is needed for development and progress, will be maintained. Indera Director Brooklyn Rivera denied that he had anything to do with the occupation of the government installations in Puerto Cabezas.

[Rivera] Of course, there are political motivations behind such a charge. Those who make such a charge want to find a scapegoat. They sometimes act rashly and accuse someone like me, who all this time has been trying to find solutions and not to create conflicts. As an Atlantic coast leader and as part of this government, I am committed to the policy of reconciliation and peace. I cannot be promoting conflicts. Instead, I must promote solutions. [end recording]

Presidency Minister Reviews 1991 Progress

PA2212043991 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 20 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by Aura Lila Moreno]

[Text] The main problem encountered by the government in 1991 was the appearance of the recontras, says Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo, who said that in 1992 the forces of public order must "do more." To this end, efforts are already being made to strengthen the law.

During a meeting—"beyond the official framework of a news conference"—with a few local reporters, the man who has been described as the government's strong man spoke at length about the principal actions the government will promote in 1992, administrative corruption, the comptroller's actions, the foreign debt, the Antonio Ibarra versus Noel Vidaurre case, the recontras, and the national dialogue, as well as other issues.

In Lacayo's opinion, 1991 was a good year for the country because hyperinflation was eradicated when his structural adjustment plan was implemented. Other results of his plan are: a stable currency, the payment of Nicaragua's debt to the World Bank and the IDB [Inter-American Development Bank], credits granted by these financial institutions, and the normalization of Nicaragua's situation with the Paris Club countries.

All of this, plus the payment of stopgap loans granted by Mexico, Spain, Colombia, and Venezuela, "gives us the necessary elements to initiate an economic take-off in 1992," Lacayo reiterated optimistically, although he admitted that there is still a very serious socio-economic problem: unemployment. Although he pointed out the impossibility of knowing the current unemployment rate because "there are no trustworthy statistics," he admitted that "unemployment is very high" even though this year's production was greater than last year's, and despite the industrial reactivation. Nevertheless, he gave assurances that with the massive public investment program and the broadening of credit granted to producers, "we may considerably reduce unemployment."

Upon explaining the leading points of action for 1992, the ranking official mentioned economic growth to raise the levels of employment, stronger centrist positions to foster depolarization and detente in our society, and higher levels of law and order.

Lacayo said that there has been a sort of double standard regarding law and public order, because each political force accuses the police of being on the side of the other force. In his opinion, "the police have been extremely moderate, so much so that many people have accused them of being soft." Unlike the majority of Latin American countries, in 1991 the police "have not sent anyone

to the cemetery," he said. Nevertheless, Lacayo noted that this tolerance has been interpreted by some people as a license to kill, steal, and commit many other crimes. Thus, he believes that the police must increase their activities in 1992, but he explained that "they need not use a stick."

Lacayo avoided talking about changes within the cabinet and a possible "Christmas" pardon that President Violeta Chamorro will grant to a large number of common and political criminals. "Let us wait for Mrs. Violeta's announcements" he said, although he hinted that the pardon has already been decided when he said that "Christmas and the new year lend themselves to family reunions."

Concerning administrative corruption, there is no doubt in Lacayo's mind that it can happen in state companies and institutions "because there are people who behave that way in every government." To justify his remarks, Lacayo said that the citizens themselves foster corruption among government employees in order "to resolve their problems." Nevertheless, he made it clear that corruption and work in the government are incompatible. He warned that if it is proven that a government employee is corrupt, "we will not only make him leave the government, but we will also put him in jail." He added that he is sure that "in the next six years there will be people in jail."

Regarding the performance of the General Comptrollership of the Republic, Lacayo regretted the remarks of Comptroller Guillermo Potoy, who "instead of saying that many complaints had been filed, asserted that there is corruption although he was unable to cite cases or present proof." According to Lacayo, the comptroller should talk when he has something to say.

Lacayo also referred to the recontra problem, which the government has attempted to resolve through dialogue. Citing differences between the recontra leaders, Lacayo pointed out that Tigrillo [Encarnacion Valdivia] is talking with the government as Dimas [Fransisco Baldivia] and Bigote de Oro [Alcides Rodriguez] have done, while El Indomable [Jose Angel Moran Flores] "is doing his own thing and using weapons to violate the rights of others."

In an angry tone, Lacayo asked himself: "What right does El Indomable have to block traffic in Jinotega and prevent peasants from transporting their crops?" His criticisms were also directed at certain politicians and journalists who "consider these actions heroic" even though "all of Jinotega rejects them."

To conclude, Lacayo referred to the national dialogue. He insisted on his plan to achieve minimal agreements between the National Opposition Union political parties, the Sandinist National Liberation Front, and the government on the four or five golden rules that "we should have on the subject of legality and public order."

Mayor Accuses Daniel Ortega of Criminal Activity

PA2212042091 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2321 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Before Dr. Rosa Argentina Solis, the eighth criminal court judge, Dr. Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo [mayor of Managua] directly accused Daniel Ortega Saavedra of perpetrating, instigating, masterminding, and organizing the terrorist actions that culminated in the destruction of the Managua mayor's office on 8 and 9 November. Aleman also accused Ortega of terrorism and other crimes, such as kidnapping and the coordination of criminal activities.

Aleman presented to the magistrate 20 photographs showing the destruction of the mayor's office; the losses have been estimated at 25 million cordobas. Aleman also told the judge that he has a 20-minute videocassette showing Ortega directing the burning of several trucks near the Gonzalez movie theater. The cassette will be delivered to the authorities as evidence as soon as they request it.

Dr. Solis said the legal proceedings will continue as usual, even during the Christmas holiday.

Government, Recontra Delegations Meet 20 Dec

PA2112190991 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Report by Francisco de Jesus Rodriguez]

[Text] Jinotega—Officials from the Government Ministry, the verification commission appointed by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, and the group headed by El Indomable [Jose Angel Moran Flores] met at the San Rafael del Norte municipal auditorium at about noon on 20 December.

The government delegation had indicated before the meeting that the event would not be covered by the media, and thus no reporters were with them. Jinotega journalists did cover the event for the "Sucesos" newscast, however.

The meeting was also attended by the regional producers; the district mayors, including the Las Brumas, Jinotega mayor; recontra spokesman Commander Alcides Rodriguez, also known as Bigote de Oro; and the San Cristobal Cooperative transportation operators.

The 21-point agenda proposed by Commander El Indomable has been discussed at other meetings. At the 20 December meeting, El Indomable aggressively imposed his views in order to discuss only two [number as heard] very important points: The demilitarization of the Sandinist People's Army, starting with the removal of Commander Humberto Ortega; the return of the properties given [to the Sandinists]; and the agreement to implement a cease-fire until 3 January 1992. On that date, El Indomable proposes to meet again with top

officials from the Government Ministry and the presidency. If these points are not met, we will go to war, El Indomable said at El Valle de Sabana Grande, 5 km south of San Rafael del Norte. The 80 transportation operators from the San Cristobal cooperative will take advantage of the cease-fire period and will start to move their vehicles on the many Jinotega roads as of 21 December.

Panama

Commentary on Reasons for U.S. Invasion

PA2312234691 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 21 Dec 91 p A5

[Article by Benjamin Eloy Jayes: "Balance of Panama's Recolonization Process"]

[Text] On the second anniversary of the invasion and the continued occupation of the isthmian nation, the real reasons for the act of force on 20 December 1989 are clear to locals and foreigners.

For more than five years, the U.S. Government prepared conditions which would justify an illegal attack on a small country inhabited by 2.5 million people.

Following the dictates of its new low-intensity war strategy, the United States set up a propaganda operative using a topic attractive to the Panamanians.

The U.S. regime also used the fact that Panamanians were going through a period of transition demanding a new political process that would allow for a democratic institutionalization, including all the classic liberties and needs of contemporary civilization. General Omar Torrijos admitted the need for these reforms in 1978, when he announced the withdrawal of the National Guard from the country's political life and the return to a predominantly civilian system.

The improvement of the Panamanian system had two basic problems: the serious economic crisis caused by the public debt and the U.S. threats that it would not comply with the provisions of the canal treaties.

This was the country's social, political, and economic reality for 15 years. The mentioned transition period started in 1975. The Torrijos-Carter Treaties were signed in 1977 and ratified a year later. At the time, the Nicaraguan Sandinists and the Central and South American rebels also gained many victories. Due to this and particularly because of the changes in the nuclear weapon detente process, which reformulated the possibility of a world war, the treaties become a serious inconvenience to the United States. [sentence as published]

The service to the debt also generated distortions in the economic field. It can be said, without fear of making a mistake, that the excessive attention given to the service of the debt was decisive in the ousting of at least three of the governments linked to the military. Thus, the service of the debt was one of the main factors in the downfall of the regime started under the leadership of Gen. Torrijos.

The way we reached the tragedy of the invasion can be specifically pinpointed to the flagrant U.S. intervention in the country. The United States wanted to recover the hegemony it had lost in the seventies and, thus, elaborated the excuses to justify its actions. It is a well-known fact that drug trafficking and its related activities are key factors in U.S. foreign policy. Thus, Gen. Manuel Noriega had all the required characteristics to make him the basic reason for the invasion. In reality, he was a victim:

1. He was the last of the generals in a regime that was exhausted; at least, it did not have the strength it had in its beginnings. The regime had kept its historic obligations since the mid-eighties, but had to change to a classic democracy.

Noriega's most serious mistake, however, was to refuse Poindexter's request to cooperate in Central America, as well as his resistance to renegotiate the canal treaties to allow the military bases to remain in Panama after 2000, as the conservative sectors—which are now in government—wanted.

2. The United States invaded Panama to further its interests and not to democratize the country or rid themselves of Noriega.

The most important U.S. interests are:

a. The need to recover the absolute control of the isthmus to regain the strategic position that allows it to participate in low-intensity wars in Central and South America more efficiently.

b. The need to control the multinational services operating in the isthmus, which increased tremendously in the seventies.

The reason for these urgent needs can be assigned to the growing U.S. budget deficit and drug-trafficking activities.

It is a well-known fact that the system offered by Panamanian laws are a fiscal paradise for multinational corporations as it enables them to avoid paying taxes to their home country. In addition, the country's banking center of more than 100 bank institutions, almost inevitably lends itself to the laundering of drug-trafficking money.

There was a prevalent U.S. interest posed by the Republican (conservative) administrations to gain control of the Panamanian Government's political institutions, particularly the former Defense Forces.

It is undeniable that during the seventies, this institution gained significant autonomy from its historic subordination to the Pentagon. The military institution's new attitude was the result of the tasks it wanted to do after

it gained power with the 1968 coup d'etat. Its institutional development determined that the national cause required that it have full control of all armed activities in Panama. It is for this reason that, contrary to many other cases in the region, Panamanian militarism has a nationalist accent.

In any case, what was presented as a confrontation between the Panamanian militaries and the U.S. Government was (and is) a reflection of an authentic conflict between the nation and U.S. imperialism, distorted by a strategy to present the democratic ideal—shared by the Panamanian people—with U.S. national security requirements.

3. The abhorrent balance of the invasion and the continued U.S. occupation amounts to much more than the 4,000 martyrs who fell during the invasion and are buried in collective graves. In addition to these unbearable results, we have to consider the ongoing major process to recolonize our fatherland.

Today, the Panamanian State does not exist, as almost all its institutions continue to be occupied and managed by several U.S. Government agencies. The national will is suffocated by the omnipresence of U.S. troops; they are present in the deepest corners of our country.

With a shameful "administrative agreement," the United States has taken over the patrol of our coasts, mainland, and in the urban areas, the courtesy patrol actions.

The so-called Donation Agreement has allowed the U.S. Government to Jefine the entire Panamanian economic policy, ranging from its labor, customs, tax, social security policies, and how the debt is paid. Furthermore, a legal absurdity called the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, which was recently signed, is nothing more than the imposition of U.S. criminal laws in our jurisdiction. This document gives police and legal authority to the U.S. Government in our country.

Today, as in the days when the fatherland was naive, the antinationalist actions of the Endara Galimany administration is disgraceful. It is a fact that the Yankee ambassador is the true head of the country's public administration. He loudly and openly gives his opinion and does so about matters that should be reserved exclusively for Panamanians. He has even congratulated the government for its unmerciful repression of students and workers.

Poll Notes Public Reaction To Endara Government

PA2312124991

[Editorial Report] Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish on 20 Dec 91 on page 1-A carries a 300-word report by Franco Rojas on a poll conducted by the Dichter and Neira firm, which shows that 41 percent of Panamanians over age 18 believe the military still controls civilian power, while 36 percent think the opposite.

The poll, conducted between 29 November and 10 December, has a 5 percent margin of error. It reports that more than half of the 931 people interviewed believe the military could reemerge, depending on political conditions; that only 20 percent of the people trust the new police security efforts; only 3 percent have absolute confidence in the National Police; and 14 percent feel that the PTJ [Judicial Technical Police] is doing a good job.

LA PRENSA's 20 December edition carries another 300-word report on the Dichter and Neira poll, by Dorita de Reyna, on page 27-A. The report indicates that 78 percent of Panamanians believe the country's political problems are hindering economic development. Reyna quotes few figures, but says "the perceptions of those polled seem to reflect a great deal of discontent because everyone had very high expectations of economic improvement under the new government of Guillermo Endara."

The newspaper publishes a third poll-related article by Rosa Coronado on page 44-A. This 150-word article focuses on public reaction to the PTJ, which 65.6 percent of the people do not trust and 20 percent do. The latter figure represents a slight increase in support for the PTJ from the 18 percent it received in a poll conducted in August. Meanwhile, 49 percent of the people believe the Public Force is the same as the Defense Forces, and 30 percent disagree with this. Coronado points out that the highest level of distrust is noted among females in Panama City.

On 21 December LA PRENSA continues its reports on the Dichter and Neira poll. Jose Quintero de Leon's 200-word report on page 1-A indicates that 24 percent of the Panamanian people believe the government is promoting democracy, while 59 percent do not.

The same newspaper carries a 375-word report on page 24-A by Manuel Alvarez Cedeno and Elkilia Santos. This report indicates that 25 percent of the people refused to state opinions concerning the three individuals, government institutions, or private institutions with the greatest credibility. But 10 percent named the National Telecommunications Institute as the most credible institution and 5 percent named Panama City Mayor Mayin Correa as the most highly regarded individual.

With regard to the international financial institutions, 58 percent of the people view the establishment of pacts with them as positive, while 23 percent oppose this position, and 19 percent had no opinion regarding the issue.

Argentina

Gonzalez Supports Air Force Chief of Staff

PY2312013091 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 22 Dec 91 p 4

[Text] (DYN-NA)—Defence Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez yesterday gave Air Force Chief-of-Staff Brigadier General Jose Julia the green light to continue leading that branch of the Armed Forces next year, despite allegations that Julia mismanaged 18 million dollars of the Air Force budget.

Although Erman Gonzalez re-assured that Julia was innocent of any wrongdoing, Federal Prosecutor Gustavo Bruzzone asked Judge Martin Irurzun to question more high-ranking military officials over whether Julia illegally bought 18 million dollars of spare parts.

"We are following legal procedures as established by the law, and we have given the court, which is acting independently (of the executive branch), our full support to reach a just verdict," Erman Gonzalez told Radio Mitre. He added that "nobody should be accused or sentenced until found guilty by the courts, as the constitution dictates."

Brigadier General Tomas Rodriguez, Julia's former second-in-command, accused his ex-boss earlier this year of mismanaging funds. Rodriguez was sentenced to 30-days house arrest and then forced to retire from the force for formally charging Julia of wrongdoing.

Erman Gonzalez also told the radio news show that the state-owned Somisa [Argentine Iron and Steel Joint Association] steel company has received bids from two foreign and one national firm for privatization.

Gonzalez Says Armed Forces Guarantee Stability

PY2112013091 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1226 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 20 Dec (TELAM)—Defense Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez has stated that the Armed Forces' increasing disposition to insert themselves in a democracy and to talk with politicians "guarantees" Argentina's stability.

Thus Gonzalez referred to the briefing that Emilio Osses, the chief of the Joint Staff, made yesterday at the cabinet meeting. Gonzalez said that in his briefing Osses expressed "the Armed Forces' feelings about the political changes that are taking place in the country and the Armed Forces reorganization."

Gonzalez added that in his briefing Osses did not mention the salary issue or the budget "in response to a specific request I made." He said Osses also discussed the Armed Forces' outlook and that the report, which he had entrusted to Osses, was "well received" by the cabinet.

Regarding the Armed Forces insertion in democracy, Gonzalez stated that we are witnessing "a more rapid growth among today's Armed Forces leaders than among politicians."

He added: "We find that sometimes there are politicians who are opposed or uninformed about the need to modernize our country."

Gonzalez noted: "Armed Forces members are much more willing and more open to talk and cooperate with politicians than some political circles characterized by disputes that all of us together must overcome."

In statements to a local radio, Gonzalez said: "This understanding of the situation helps us to achieve not only economic stability but also institutional stability. This was one of Argentina's greatest concerns and also of those who had to invest in our country."

He said that today's stability "is guaranteed by the thinking and activities of Armed Forces members."

Government Makes Efforts To Reform Constitution

PY2312232691 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 23 Dec 91 p 7

[Text] (NA-DYN)—The Government will redouble its efforts next year to reform the Constitution and allow for the re-election of President Carlos Menem, reported government spokespersons yesterday.

Menem administration officials have been working quietly to amend the Constitution, which currently forbids a president from serving two consecutive terms, said the sources. They added that Menem supporters have even considered a "non-binding plebiscite" to defeat opponents of the plan, and believe "the will of the people (who would overwhelmingly re-elect the President) could serve as the decisive source of pressure" for its package.

So far Menem has refused to indicate whether he would seek an amendment that would allow him to run for re-election in 1995. As recently as December 5 he said he wouldn't "even talk about it, because afterwards come large headlines that can even misinform the people."

In addition he denied that the move to vote on constitutional reform, perhaps as soon as next year, had come at his behest, leaving open the possibility that it was the work of his close supporters.

Allowing for presidential re-election is also providing part of the impetus behind attempts by Justicialist bloc leader Jorge Matzkin to reach a political accord with the Radical Party, preferably before 1993, in order to establish a dialogue on the major issues facing the country.

In addition, Matzkin told Congress' official Gazete that new Radical leader Fernando de la Rua "has sufficient parliamentary experience to know how to lead his bloc and...will be a constructive opposition" and that the

current government will be remembered for its major legislation on economic and state reform and convertibility.

Not all Justicialists share such a positive outlook on the government's current direction, however. Dissident Peronist leader Carlos "Chacho" Alvarez announced he is boycotting today's meeting of Lower House bloc presidents with Menem at Government House "due to the official decision to leave pensioners and state employees without their aguinaldo," or year-end bonus.

Congress Approves 1992 Budget Proposal

PY2112122291 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2203 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 19 Dec (TELAM)—The budget proposal for 1992, which the National Senate voted into law this afternoon, includes a 6.5 percent annual growth of the Gross Domestic Product [GDP], a 7 percent inflation rate for the whole year, and a 1:1 parity of the peso with the dollar.

The initiative foresees a collection of $2.5 billion with the privatization of the state enterprises SEGBA [Greater Buenos Aires Electrical Services], the State Gas Corporation, and government oil deposits. It also establishes that "priority attention will be given" to investments in the energy industry during the first months of 1992.

Overall public sector expenses have been estimated at $17 billion, while salaries of public employees "will not be increased," unless a savings is achieved with a reduction of personnel.

Public investment will be 2.5 percent of the GDP, while the need to finance the public sector is reduced to 0.17 percent of the GDP, "totally financed, with which state finances will be balanced."

Moreover, it establishes that price increases will be in accordance with international inflation, and the type of exchange will be 1 peso per dollar all through 1992, which means a nominal average growth of 4.5 percent of the GDP.

Public tariffs "will be maintained" throughout the year and the international interest rates will average 6 percent in 1992.

The distribution of the 1992 budget, per area, is as follows: —In millions of dollars (with 1992 to 1991 comparison in parentheses) General Administration..... 2,768 (15.4)..(19.9 more than 1991)
Defense..... 1,739 (09.6)..(23.5 more than 1991)
Security..... 1,186 (06.6)..(23.8 more than 1991)
Health..... 641 (03.6)..(04.8 less than 1991)
Culture and Education.. 1,587 (08.8)..(20.7 less than 1991)
Economy..... 4,449 (24.7).. (0.5 more than 1991)
Social Welfare..... 2,629 (14.6)..(10.6 more than 1991)
Science and Technology. 469 (02.6)..(16.4 more than 1991)
Public Debt..... 2,558 (14.2)..(13.1 more than 1991)

Total..... 18.026..... (7.2 more than 1991)

The distribution of the budget for National Administration is as follows: (In thousands of pesos)

Legislative Branch.....279,917
Judicial Branch.....490,531
National Accounting Office..... 22,309
Presidency of the Nation.....1,326,190
Interior Ministry.....713,720
Foreign and Worship Ministry.....269,120
Defense.....2,897,593
Economy and Public Works.....1,935,294
Culture and Education.....1,387,571
Justice.....220,183
Labor and Social Security.....180,737
Health and Social Action.....1,725,954
Public Debt Service.....2,554,345
Obligations in Charge of Treasury.....4,018,700

Total.....18,022,164

Nuclear Commission Head on Control Agreement

PY2312203091 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1500 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Manuel Mondino, president of the National Atomic Energy Commission, talked with our morning newscast reporters this morning. Among other subjects, Mondino referred to an Argentine-Brazilian nuclear control agreement, which was recently signed in Vienna.

[Begin Mondino recording] This agreement involves four parties: Argentina, Brazil, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and a Brazilian-Argentine control and accounting agency, which we created on the basis of the Guadalajara Declaration. Consequently, these four parties will have control. On one hand, it is a bilateral agreement that involves Argentina and Brazil. Yet on the other, Argentina and Brazil will also operate with the IAEA. This international community agency will control—as it is doing in all [as heard] countries around the globe—everything having to do with exclusively nuclear activities, including both materials and facilities. This is a way of saying I am good, I want to look good, and I am truly aware that through transparent attitudes by society and by countries in a matter as sensitive as the nuclear field, men can reach understanding. [end recording]

In another part of his remarks, Mondino referred to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

[Begin Mondino recording] Peaceful use means that a fission reaction in a nuclear reactor can be the departing point for manufacturing military materiel or other uses. The most common uses are the production of electricity and radioisotopes in industry, agriculture, and so forth. We are doing many of these things in various areas here in Argentina, and they have a major effect on the economy. [end recording]

Brazil

Collor Praises Dedication, Creativity of Military

PY2112010891 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] President Fernando Collor today asserted that during the various visits he has paid to Armed Forces units, he has been able to witness the capability, dedication, and patriotism of the members of the military.

The president of the Republic had lunch with senior Army officers at the Army Club in Brasilia.

In an address during the luncheon, Collor referred to public discussions regarding the Armed Forces' mission and their possible reorganization. He said the institution is necessary to safeguard national sovereignty and that the role it plays needs to be constantly adapted to the new times.

[Begin Collor recording] It should be pointed out that this debate, which is only normal within a democratic regime, not only refers to this issue but refers to all national issues. For example, as stated in the Constitution, this is the subject of the plebiscite that will be preceded by a discussion regarding the system and form of government. [end recording]

President Collor recalled that there are only a few people who go to the extreme of questioning the existence of the Armed Forces, and he recognized the spirit of sacrifice and creativity shown by the military in light of the cutbacks in expenditures, budgets, and investments imposed by the plan to stabilize the country's economy and resume growth.

[Begin Collor recording] I am perfectly aware of the materiel shortages you have faced, and the challenge this represents in fulfilling your duties, as well as to the professional motivation of our military men. Moreover, the Armed Forces shares with the entire nation this decisive phase in which the scope of the obstacles that must be overcome must be confronted with a proportional feeling of confidence and optimism. [end recording]

Army Minister Carlos Tinoco asserted that the Armed Forces are united regarding the understanding proposed by President Collor.

[Begin Tinoco recording] The Armed Forces support, and are united regarding, the true crusade your excellency has initiated in search of a national understanding. The Armed Forces thus grant the country the peace and tranquility it strongly needs to overcome this difficult challenge affecting each and everyone of us. [end recording]

In Tinoco's opinion, the unity among various social groups, the government, and the people, and a harmonious relationship between the government branches are necessary to overcome the difficulties the Brazilian people currently are facing.

* Poll Reflects Dissatisfaction, Pessimism

92SM0137A Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 26 Nov 91 pp 1, 8

[Report by Brasilia correspondent Jose Casado]

[Text] Dissatisfied and pessimistic, but still receptive to political alternatives—this is, basically, the portrait of the electorate revealed in an opinion poll conducted by IBOPE [Brazilian Opinion and Statistics Institute] in September in the major metropolitan areas (Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Fortaleza, Salvador, Brasilia, Curitiba, and Porto Alegre).

Some 1,500 voters from all social strata were subjected to a battery of more than 50 questions. The result is one of the most critical analyses of the Brazilian political scene produced during recent months.

Voters are essentially pessimistic: 79 percent do not think the country will soon emerge from the crisis. They believe the nature of the crisis is economic (55 percent), moral (25 percent), and political (15 percent). They say there are two priority issues on the nation's agenda today: economic problems (53 percent), and corruption in government (29 percent).

A broad majority (60 percent) feel that corruption is spread about evenly throughout the federal government. A smaller, but significant, portion (23 percent) lays the blame mainly with the group of people closest to President Fernando Collor de Mello.

Corruption, As Seen By The Voters
Base—1,500

Response	Total
Corruption is concentrated mainly in the group of people closest to President Collor	23%
Corruption is concentrated mainly in groups not so close to the president	8%
Corruption is spread evenly throughout the government	60%
There is almost no corruption in the government	3%
Don't Know/No Opinion	5%

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

There is an odd difference in perception between voters in the South/Southeast and Northeast regions. For example: in Recife, Fortaleza, and Salvador, the proportion of persons who consider the corruption to be centralized in the group of people closest to the president is much more significant than was recorded in Rio, Sao Paulo, and Porto Alegre.

Collor's image may still be untarnished in the eyes of the voters—this is what a reading of the poll results would suggest. However, his administration has been completely discredited.

Half the voters would describe the Collor administration as "bad" (11 percent) or "terrible" (39 percent), and nearly two thirds (69 percent) openly admit they do not trust the president.

The degree of mistrust exceeds the two-thirds point among women (72 percent) and voters in the 16-39 age bracket (73 percent). The distrust is obvious (64 percent) even among the poorest sectors of the electorate—the group in which people have, at best, completed elementary school.

In the limited group of those who express confidence in Collor (28 percent), the highest index was obtained among men (31 percent), in the over-40 age bracket (35 percent), and in the lowest income group (33 percent).

Confidence in the President of the Republic

Response	Total	Sex		Age			Educational Level		
		Male	Female	16-24	25-29	40 and Older	Elementary School or Less	Junior High	High School and Above
Base	1500	732	763	376	621	503	521	413	567
Trusts Him	28%	31%	25%	25%	25%	35%	33%	27%	25%
Does Not Trust Him	69%	65%	72%	73%	73%	61%	64%	71%	72%
Don't Know/No Opinion	3%	3%	3%	2%	3%	4%	3%	2%	3%

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

Among the major cities, the president obtained the best grades in Curitiba (38 percent said they trust him, 60 percent said no). His worst marks came from Salvador (82 percent), Fortaleza (81 percent) and Porto Alegre (79 percent).

But in the opinion of the voters, Collor is not primarily responsible for the difficulties being faced by this country in its search for ways out of the crisis.

Politicians (46 percent) and businessmen (45 percent) are the ones who have done the most to jeopardize the attempts to reach a national understanding on alternative solutions to the crisis, say the voters. The president ranks third on their list (33 percent).

**Who Is Hindering A National Understanding?
Base—1,500**

Response	Total
President Collor	33%
The Governors	11%
Businessmen	45%
Workers	4%
Unions	16%
Politicians	46%
No one/All of the above	3%
Don't Know/No Opinion	13%

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

That is why there is skepticism as to the possibility that any attempt at a political understanding will work out (49 percent): 26 percent term the chances zero, and 23 percent say they are slight.

So, it appears that political parties only know how to politick (58 percent) to their own advantage, and they are opportunists (53 percent).

The politicians work mainly for the wealthiest (51.8 percent) and offer no specific solutions to bring the country out of the crisis that plagues it (56 percent), although the voters recognize them as being a real political force with a small, but important, group of dynamic leaders. The central problem of the parties, as perceived by the electorate, is a failure to take firm positions.

That caustic analysis of the parties makes Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's PT [Workers Party] and Leonel Brizola's

PDT [Democratic Worker's Party] the prime beneficiaries—especially Lula's PT, which is identified as leader of the opposition, followed by the PDT and PSDB [Brazilian Social Democracy Party], but considered as the most radical organization (47 percent) in the party constellation.

The images of all three parties and of their leaders are directly associated with the political segment that recognizes them as the ones that "fight for the poorest."

Meanwhile, the PRN [National Reconstruction Party], created and maintained by Collor, bears the stigma of a party that, in the view of the voters, has become accustomed to "fighting for the wealthiest" (58 percent) and is the party of the government (61 percent), but does not have solutions for the crisis (62 percent), takes no firm positions (51 percent)—in this it is tied with the PFL [Liberal Front Party]—is dubbed "opportunist" (58 percent), and "knows only about politicking" (59 percent).

According to the voters, the organization with the most political clout in Brazil today is the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] (61 percent). It appears as one of those that holds most firmly to its positions, and is even seen by a significant portion of the electorate (32 percent) as a bit radical—along with the PDS [Social Democratic Party], which is 15 points below the PT and one ahead of the PDT.

But the PMDB competes with the PDS and the PRN for top ranking among the "opportunists" that do nothing but politicking and "fight for the wealthiest."

When invited to name the characteristics that best describe the various politicians—specifically, a group of leaders who are potential candidates for president, the voters become even more critical.

Most Admired Politicians (Mentioned Spontaneously) Base—1,500

Response	Total
Alvaro Dias	1%
Mario Covas	8%
Orestes Quercia	6%
Paulo Maluf	10%
Tasso Jereissati	1%
Ciro Gomes	1%
Lula	19%
Jose Serra	1%

Most Admired Politicians (Mentioned Spontaneously) Base—1,500 (Continued)

Response	Total
Fernando Henrique	1%
Leonel Brizola	20%
Fernando Collor	6%
Antonio Ermirio de Moraes	1%
Ulysses Guimaraes	5%
Juscelino Kubischeck	1%
Roberto Freire	2%
Marco Maciel	1%
Luiz Antonio Fleury	1%
Jose Sarney	1%
Janio Quadros	1%
Antonio Carlos Magalhaes	1%
Guilherme Afif Domingos	1%
Eneas	1%
Jaime Lerner	1%
Tancredo Neves	1%
Joaquim Franc[illegible]	1%
Miguel Arraes	1%
Helio Garcia	1%
Others mentioned by [illegible] than 1%	16%
None/no one	25%
Don't Know/No Opinion	9%

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

Lula leads the "popularity contest" at 50 percent, followed by Leonel Brizola (45 percent) and Orestes Quercia (33 percent).

Brizola is seen as the most competent of the politicians (29 percent), followed by Quercia (25 percent), and Lula (24 percent).

Maluf was named as the most closely connected with the image of corruption (34 percent), along with Brizola (19 percent) and Quercia (17 percent).

Also on the list of virtues and defects, the voters classified Maluf as the politician that talks a lot but does not follow through (33 percent), Lula as the hardest-working (45 percent), and Brizola as the firmest in his decisions (24 percent).

The Leaders, As Seen By The Voters
(Percent naming certain characteristics as best describing selected politicians)

	Quercia	Maluf	Tasso	Brizola	ACM	Lula
Popular	33	26	7	45	13	50
Competent	25	21	8	29	12	24
Corrupt	17	34	4	19	13	11
Fights for the poor	12	10	13	28	6	45
All talk; no action	27	53	6	24	13	19
Hard worker	23	20	7	29	11	45
Sticks to his decisions	19	17	5	24	9	23
Favors the rich	22	32	5	15	12	7
None of the above	3	4	2	3	3	5
Not familiar with the leader/Don't Know/No Opinion	19	14	77	13	55	8

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

When asked to think about whom to vote for as president, the voters weighed a list of potential candidates. If the election had been held at the time of the poll in September, the results would be: Lula (24 percent), Brizola (21 percent), and Quercia (11 percent), with a significant batch of blank or invalid votes (19 percent).

Who Would You Vote For If The Presidential Elections Were Held Today?
Base—1,500

Response	Total
Orestes Quercia	11%
Lula	24%
Paulo Maluf	16%
Tasso Jereissati	3%
Leonel Brizola	21%
Antonio Carlos Magalhaes	4%
No one/Would void ballot	19%
Don't Know/No Opinion	2%

Source: IBOPE, September 1991

Poll taken in nine metropolitan areas.

According to the poll, this is how the voters are looking at and analyzing their government officials and political leaders precisely two years after the last presidential election—which was the first in three decades.

Chile

Rojas Labels Relations With Armed Forces Normal

PY2112013491 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 2330 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Defense Minister Patricio Rojas today labeled relations between the government and the Armed Forces normal. In relation to the judicial investigation regarding to the illegal arms shipment to Yugoslavia, at least six people have been summoned for interrogation.

[Begin recording] [Rojas] I believe that during the 20-month government administration some difficult times have been overcome. Everyone is working to fulfill his constitutional obligations.

[Unidentified reporter] How would you label current relations?
[Rojas] Normal. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Air Force Commander on 'Optimum' Government Ties

PY2112012091 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Air Force Commander Ramon Vega Hidalgo has said that government-Air Force ties are at an optimum level. General Vega said the government and the Air Force can only be at an optimum level.

Asked about the government's proposal that everyone must comply with and respect the Constitution, the Air Force commander refused to be repetitive and said he will not make public statements on such delicate and serious issues.

Gen. Vega made this statement after attending a luncheon with President Aylwin. Also present at the luncheon were Air Force officers who graduated from the Air Force Staff School.

IDB Grants $10 Million Development Loan

PY2112124291 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The Inter-American Development Bank, IDB, has granted Chile a $10 million loan for a pre-investment program that will benefit national social and economic development though the allotment of funds to key fields. The document was signed in the IDB headquarters in Washington by IDB President Enrique Iglesias and Chilean Ambassador to the United States Patricio Silva. The program will specifically increase investment levels in the fields of health, education, environment, and road construction.

Paraguay

Government To Avoid Paris Club Debt Negotiation

PY2112014891 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 20 Dec 91 p 91

[Text] The possibility that Paraguay will avoid the Paris Club in order to restructure its foreign debt with creditor governments is gaining force with the passing of the days. This was mentioned on 19 December at the Japanese Embassy in our capital. The first inkling of this topic was given by Finance Minister Juan J. Diaz Perez. Direct talks will be held with each creditor instead.

This was mentioned on 19 December by Japanese Embassy sources in our capital.

The reason for this strategy change lies in the government's fear that very few advantages will be obtained from the collective forum that has its seat in the French capital, and that better luck can be obtained from separate talks with each creditor.

This possibility had been suggested some day ago by Diaz Perez at the end of a meeting between the economic team with the IMF negotiator mission. On that occasion, the minister said there are two ways to resolve the delays in the payment of the foreign debt pending with foreign governments: Negotiate with the Paris Club (common forum of the creditor governments) or negotiate separately with each creditor.

The minister had stated that only very poor countries that find themselves unable to pay their foreign commitments resort to the Paris Club. The government spokesman told journalists that "you all know what our country's situation is with its very high level of reserves."

No matter what path is selected, it will be taken as soon as the government obtains an agreement with the IMF for a letter of intent and a stand-by [preceding two words in English] agreement.

Paraguay maintains an $815 million debt (48 percent of the country's total debt) with the IMF (governments and private banks with official guarantees). Of this total, an overall sum of $270 million has expired.

The rest of Paraguay's foreign debt is made up of $216 million with commercial banks (13 percent of the total), and $646 million with multilateral organizations (IDB [Inter-American Development Bank], World Bank, FONPLATA [(Financial) Fund (for the Development of the Basin of the) Plate (River)], etc.).

Within the Paris Club, the following are Paraguay's creditors: France, Japan, Spain, Italy, Belgium, South Africa, Great Britain, the United States, and Germany.

The banks that head Paraguay's creditor syndicates within the Paris Club are: AID, KFW [expansion unknown] (South Africa), Japan's Export-Import Bank, China's Export-Import Bank, Lloyds Bank (with the guarantee of the ECGD [expansion unknown] Company), and Worms Banque (with the guarantee of COFACE [expansion unknown]).

There are also the Bank of Indochina, L'Europeenne de Banques, Bayerische Landesbank, Credit Lyonnais, Itau Bank [Brazil], and Philips Export.

Within the group of banks, the largest creditors are: The Worms Banque (with 13 percent of the expired debt), Banco Exterior de Espana (12 percent), and the L'Europeenne de Banques (with 11 percent of the expired debt).

IDB Grants $100 Million Loan for Electricity

PY2312144291 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 23 Dec 91 p 11

[Summary] The Paraguayan Government and the Inter-American Development Bank [IDB] signed an agreement in which the IDB grants a loan totaling $100 million. These funds will be used to expand the electricity system in rural and urban areas. The signing ceremony was presided over by President Rodriguez and IDB President Enrique Iglesias.

Japan Donates 52 Million Guaranies to Schools

PY2112142091 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 21 Dec 91 p 12

[Summary] The Japanese Government has granted 52 million guaranies in non-reimbursable aid to the La Paz municipality of Itapua Department, the Paraguayan-Japanese School of Asuncion, the Elizardo Aquino School of Arroyos y Esteros, and the Svetlana Evreinoff Conservatory of Asuncion, for construction projects and the purchase of education material. The agreement was signed yesterday between the Japanese Embassy charge d'affaires and the directors of the institutions which will benefit from the aid.

Peru

Fujimori Criticizes Deputies' Budget

PY2312163691 Lima LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 14 Dec 91 pp 4,5

[Report by Marlene Macedo]

[Text] President Alberto Fujimori asked the Chamber of Deputies yesterday to reconsider its huge budget, which the lower house itself has included in the Annual Budget Law, because it is "excessive, exaggerated, and disproportionate."

The chief of state wondered whether "it wasn't wrong that the Chamber of Deputies' budget, which amounted to 121 million Peruvian soles, should be larger than the budget allocated for the struggle against terrorism."

He added: "Terrorism is not fought in the Chamber of Deputies, but in the field."

Fujimori also used harsh language in referring to his previous disagreements regarding Congress, the Comptroller's Office, and the political parties, although on this occasion he uses a reconciliatory tone of voice.

"I think it is disproportionate that the Chamber of Deputies' budget should have increased sixfold compared with 1991, and I say this quite frankly because we must pinpoint the mistakes that plague all of Peru."

The president said Chamber of Deputies' members were being inconsistent.

He said that deputies support articles of the budget law that advocates austerity, and yet at the same time they do not observe austerity.

"Rather than being proclaimed," he advised, "austerity should be practiced."

He said this is one of his major sources of concern, and that he expects "the appropriate corrective action to be made on 13 and 14 December."

He then ironically addressed the deputies, saying that "if you demand austerity from the public area and the people, you should set the example."

Even though the Annual Budget Law, which is being debated in Congress, does not explicitly say that the Chamber of Deputies budget will be used for paying salaries, this is practically a fact.

Fujimori said this "increase" will mean 10 million soles a month, and that "even though it is fine for people to feel a bit more comfortable with their income, these funds should be used in a very reasonable manner, considering the sacrifice made by all citizens."

Fujimori made it clear that his words were only a "proposal," noting that he could not say how much a congressman should earn.

The president also supported the minister of economy and finance by saying that some congressmen are firmly determined to favor some specific foreign interests.

Concerning the Annual Budget Law, he said, "it is possible to identify the people who support some of its articles."

As an example, he mentioned the repaying of the foreign debt.

"We have to repay the debt, but there is no reason for the budget committee to set a list of companies that should be paid first."

He added: "I hope lobbies [preceding word in English] will not operate in this case, and I also hope Congress will not confirm this proposal."

Fujimori made these statements in a speech he made yesterday during a promotion ceremony at the Chorrillos Military School, during which he awarded the Sword of Honor to Infantry Lieutenant Jesus Veray Pensa, who ranked first in the "Cavalry Colonel Jose Andres Razuri Estevez" promotion.

Even though part of this speech was devoted to highlighting the noble mission of new Army lieutenants, he also endorsed his legislative decrees and his observations of the Chamber of Deputies.

Concerning the Chamber of Deputies' budget, he said, "we can no longer manage the country in this careless manner. Our resources should be earmarked very carefully so that they benefit everyone and so that they meet everyone's needs—not only those of Congress."

The president also referred to the lawmakers who charge him with heavy-handedness.

He said: "Authority must be exercised. It is not designed for decoration or exhibition. And whoever exercises authority is backed by all the constitutional powers that correspond to his position."

He said that this principle allows him to criticize the actions that hinder "objectives that are so important such as economic reactivation and national pacification."

"To remain silent would be equivalent to putting all those citizens who chose me to fight leniency and distortion in public office in a state of defenselessness," he said.

"The principle of authority demands action and initiative, the reporting of negative facts, and the staunch defense of national interest in keeping with the Constitution."

In another part of his speech, Fujimori also strongly upheld the importance of the work the National Intelligence Service [SIN] is doing in arresting terrorist leaders.

He said that the intelligence work in search of terrorist leaders has prevented murders and destruction.

He said: "The pacification strategy, which is based on intelligence work, has had major results in the past few months."

The president, who spared no adjectives in praising SIN's work, said, "major terrorist cells have been dismantled, and major blows have been dealt to their management system."

"The so-called central committees have been dismantled, and so have the groups of regional leaders and organizations like Peruvian People's Help and the Association of Democratic Lawyers."

To express further support for SIN, the president said that the work by this organization "reflects the victory of democracy over terrorism, which has operated like a true system."

Concerning Congress' refusal to pass all the decrees on SIN, Fujimori said that if this position remains unchanged, "it will be equivalent to taking a step backward; it will harm the pacification strategy; and it will become one of the most absurd ways of playing in the game of terrorism."

He categorically said that SIN should be further strengthened "because it has shown its efficiency with facts, and because under the current circumstances it is one of the staunchest pillars of our national pacification strategy."

He explained that for this reason the country needs an appropriate number of highly trained military and police personnel within the Army Intelligence Service, taking into account the powers granted by the Army Organic Law.

Like his previous speeches, Fujimori said the national pacification strategy is not improvised, "and its results should be evaluated before criticizing it."

"Let us once and for all stop acting as if we were in a theater or in front of television cameras. Let us return to common sense as the cornerstone of democracy in our country."

Mentioning Army soldiers and the courageous members of the peasant self-defense patrols as examples, he said, "we as civilians should give an example of maturity and civic behavior to our children, working as courageously as they do in the battlefield."

As for the other legislative decrees, Fujimori said he wants the support of farmers and peasant self-defense patrols, "who not only think the way we do but who have implemented, with considerable success, the measures encouraging the participation of the people in the fight against terrorism."

The president also referred to the raiding of national universities by Army troops.

"I know the meaning of university autonomy, and no one will come to me with stories," he said.

"I have a very clear and firm idea of autonomy, and I know that under the current circumstances some university rectors may be afraid of terrorist threats." The president, however, asked them that just as they took on the major responsibilities of rectors in the eyes of youths and the country, "they must know that the government wants and can guarantee order and tranquillity at the universities."

He said he does not know why the decree allowing the Armed Forces to enter the universities "has been a target of discredit."

He said his objective is to fight the real roots of terrorism, the centers of criminals and terror that operated in universities, sheltered by a misunderstood concept of autonomy.

"Some universities have thus become terrorist strongholds, and no one was courageous enough to take action to defend the real university autonomy, which is: the autonomy of students for studying and of professors for teaching research."

He recalled that Shining Path members entered and left university buildings "as if they were home, and they even sponsored parties and celebrations. At the height of their cheek they used a university building as a hotel for Shining Path leaders."

"Did anyone do anything in the past 11 years to change that shameful situation?"

He said: "Was anything done to prevent students and professors, who were frightened by the threats from the Shining Path, from gradually shifting to the ranks of sedition?"

In conclusion, Fujimori encouraged the cadets who yesterday ended their studies at the Army School.

"I symbolically hand over to you the power that will turn you into the staunchest defenders of the best social and moral values upheld by the Constitution, and of the nice objectives that the nation has bequeathed to you as disciples of [national heroes Andres Avelino] Caceres and [Francisco] Bolognesi."

During the morning, Fujimori awarded Defense Minister Victor Malca Villanueva the Great Cross of the Ayacucho Military Order for his distinguished services.